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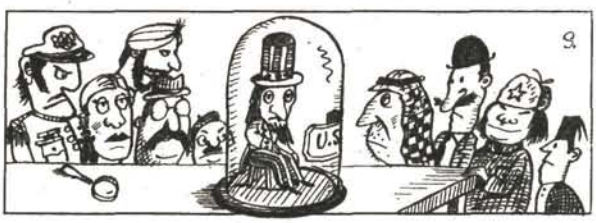
★ ★ ★ 120TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE ★ ★ ★

LOOKING AT THE UNITED STATES



Margaret Atwood ★ *Abolhassan Bani-Sadr* ★ *Benazir Bhutto* ★ *Willy Brandt*

E.L. Doctorow ★ *Slavenka Drakulich* ★ *Rachel Eytan* ★ *Carlos Fuentes*

Christopher Hitchens ★ *George Konrád* ★ *Jack Lang* ★ *Penny Lernoux*

Michael Manley ★ *Wang Meng* ★ *Margaret Chant Papandreou*

Salman Rushdie ★ *E.P. Thompson* ★ *Gore Vidal* ★ *Yevgeny Yevtushenko*

PLUS

The History of The Nation According to the F.B.I. by Penn Kimball

Afterword by Fred J. Cook

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LETTERS.

Santiago, Chile
I would like nothing better than to be with you for your 120th anniversary. If we think, however, that 120 years ago Chile was more democratic and prosperous than it is today, you will agree with me that it is more urgent for me to be here, fighting for the freedom of my country, than to be there, in the United States, even if it does have a publication as splendid and courageous as *The Nation* and parties as enticing as the one you keep announcing in your pages as my mouth waters.

I wish I could have announced to you and your readers, as part of the general celebration, that Gen. Augusto Pinochet is on a plane bound for Guam or the French Alps. Unfortunately, he is still around. So the only thing I can send you for now is my admiration and strength, and promises that we are doing everything we can so that by the 125th anniversary we will have a Latin America without dictators.

Los abrazo fuerte (that means "a big hug") desde territorio cautivo (that means "from a captive territory"). Your friend, *Ariel Dorfman*

∞

Washington
It is reassuring that *The Nation*, twenty years into its second century, is growing in strength. The basic freedoms and rights that it has defined and defended through the years continue to be under attack today—in some cases, by means and methods more subtle and more dangerous than those used in the past.
Eugene McCarthy

∞

New York City
Journalism was not born as a business to entertain people with amenities, much less as a show business to be run by illiterate cowards. It was born through a political struggle as a tool of freedom and of knowledge, in the cause of telling the truth or a side of the truth. In the 1500s the first journalists, the Italian scribes, risked having their right hand or their tongue cut off by the popes and by the princes of the city-states. Well, one may or may not agree with *The Nation*, and sometimes I do not. But no one with an honest mind can deny that in a time when journalism indulges so much and so often in being a business to entertain people with amenities, or a show business run by illiterate cowards, *The Nation* still has the guts of those Italian scribes working in the 1500s. I hope it goes on that way for another 120 years at least, though without having its right or left hand or its tongue cut off by some pope or some worldly prince.
Oriana Fallaci

∞

New York City
When I was a freshman at the University of Denver, during the Eisenhower years, I came across my first copy of *The Nation*. I discovered that there was a magazine that shared my social and political passions.

The Nation has remained my companion, alerting and informing me. As I watch other publications compromise or become trendy, I realize it is not to be taken for granted.

The Nation is more important than ever. *David Rothenberg*
Director, The Fortune Society

∞

New York City
I count on *The Nation* to publish important articles that might never see print anywhere else. I don't always agree with what's printed, but I always feel that it was necessary to print it.
Tom Wicker

∞

New York City
The Nation has always stimulated me. From the age of Oswald Garrison Villard to Carey McWilliams to Victor Navasky, *The Nation* has been hard to put down. For most of my 70 years it has involved me, inspired me and occasionally angered me. On its 120th anniversary we can congratulate *The Nation* for teaching us all something about investigative journalism, and hope that in the next decades a sense of restraint can keep pace with its probing sense of history. *Fred Friendly*

∞

New York City
The Nation was a pioneer of an international phenomenon. In many cultures, small magazines are the most frequent agents for the introduction of new ideas. In democracies, television and newspapers are too expensive for new ideas to afford. In undemocratic countries, they're too controlled. In both, books may be untimely and hard to come by.

Small magazines like *The Nation* are innovative, analytical, irritating and indispensable. In this international wave of feminism, woman-run magazines are following a similar path. From India to Italy, from Japan to the United States, we are trying to run magazines that are forums for new ideas.

We're grateful to our big brother. We wish *The Nation* a century more.
Gloria Steinem and all of us at Ms.

∞

Washington
I grew up—politically—in South Dakota with *The Nation*, learning from its pages the importance of dissent from the popular wisdom of the moment. Unlike other journals, *The Nation* does not seem to be running for office, but instead, thankfully, seeks to explore ideas and concepts in politics that provide the cutting edge for those whose ideas will be acceptable several years in the future. Without doubt, *The Nation*'s unrelenting policy of printing its own concepts of America, rather than someone else's, continues to give me hope where I would otherwise tend to lose it.
James G. Abourezk

∞

Atlanta
The Nation tells the truth and makes sure smaller voices can always be heard. It educates, it entertains, it occasionally enrages, but it remains the newsmagazine that is the standard for all others.
Julian Bond

∞

New York City
I started reading (and writing for) *The Nation* more than fifty years ago, and I have been reading it ever since. I hope it keeps up the good work for at least another fifty years. *Paul Sweezy*

∞

New York City
For six score years *The Nation* has more nearly exposed the meaning of our national history and the nature of our

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Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Director,* Stephen W. Soule; *Director of Development and Publicity,* Micah L. Sifry; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Assistant Advertising Manager,* Neil Black; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* David Acker, Randall Cherry, Mitchel Cohen; *Nation Associates Director,* Nancy Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc. Directors: Arthur Carter, Hamilton Fish 3rd, Victor Navasky. © 1986 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation,* Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $45; two years, $81. Add $7 per year for postage in Canada, Mexico; $13 per year for other foreign. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation,* 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

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TO
THE NATION
ITS PAST, ITS PRESENT, ITS FUTURE

IN MEMORY OF

JAMES J. STORROW JR.

PUBLISHER
1965-1977

PUBLISHER/EDITOR
CENTENNIAL ISSUE 1965

LINDA EDER STORROW

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EDITORIALS.

The World, the Nation and *The Nation*

"The week has been singularly barren of exciting events." The first sentence in the lead column of Volume I, Number 1 of *The Nation*, for July 6, 1865, drew an idyllic open parenthesis for a stream of political and literary consciousness that has coursed over 120 years of tumultuous history. Surely no week has been as uneventful as the first. The convulsive Reconstruction era was beginning the year *The Nation* was founded in New York City by a group of Abolitionists. In its first century the magazine would engage the issues and join the debates of a youthful nation ascending the heights of empire to the summit as a superpower: the concentration of wealth in great trusts, the war with Spain, interventions in Latin America and the Caribbean, the great world wars, the New Deal age of reform, the flowering of a culture of commitment, the struggle for black equality, wars of strategic colonialism and the cold war, with its threat of nuclear annihilation. We have confronted our world and filled our pages with a native vision of democracy and a sensibility rooted in the American tradition of dissent. Now, as a milestone is passed, *The Nation* devotes this 120-page anniversary issue to the American nation as others see it, describe it, worry about it, love it. It is a view through open windows of communication across national and ideological frontiers. It is also a peek at the magazine through the narrow keyhole of surveillance, a history of *The Nation* as seen by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The contrast between the perspectives on the nation expressed by the contributors to this issue and those on *The Nation* contained in the F.B.I.'s voluminous files, prized out of the Bureau with the help of the Freedom of Information Act, is instructive. The contributors represent a diversity of cultures and political convictions, but they share a respect for the "revolutionary republic" that Willy Brandt reminds us this country was once considered to be. They imagine what E.P. Thompson describes as a possible future in a defrosted world in which art, as E.L. Doctorow hopes, will "find a postnuclear politics of transcendent diction." Some are exiles, seeking to restore democracy in their homelands; others belong to that society of dissident cultures of which Salman Rushdie speaks. The F.B.I.'s picture of *The Nation*, on the other hand, exudes a contempt for dissent and for the vision and programs that animate it.

Although our contributors may look ahead to the reconstruction of a global order along democratic and egalitarian lines—much as *The Nation*'s founders argued for the democratic reconstruction of American society after the Civil War—they all have to contend with the realities of a cold war that has shaped the world. Margaret Atwood sees the colossus to the south as a myopic Mr. Magoo, alternately condescending and cavalier to its neighbors. Carlos Fuentes finds the United States "profoundly incoherent and hypocritical" when it professes democratic ideals and engages in imperial actions. Michael Manley regards the United States, just a hop and skip away from his troubled island in the Caribbean, as being in thrall to "a political ideology that gives primacy to military power."

Their characterizations of this country portray it not as just another evil empire but as an immensely powerful organizer, director, meddler and potential terminator that must be opposed every time it attempts to circumscribe the independence of others. How that can be done is not always easy to see. In the cold war atmosphere, which has lasted for forty years despite occasional periods of thaw, opposition to America's foreign policies has invariably evoked accusations of treachery and has often led to severe political repression. The F.B.I.'s surveillance of Oswald Garrison Villard began when he agitated against U.S. military intervention in Mexico, three years before he purchased *The Nation*. An agent's report in 1922 states that Villard is again under suspicion because of "his attitude in connection with the Government's conduct of Haitian affairs"—that is, his vigorous opposition to the American occupation of that island. In the 1950s, when reporter Fred J. Cook produced his comprehensive and devastating investigation of the F.B.I. in a landmark *Nation* special issue, the Bureau launched a massive campaign to link him to the international communist conspiracy—the "Dreaded Menace," in Atwood's ironic words. The campaign failed, but the chill winds of the cold war have had an effect on dissent in the nation and *The Nation*. Too many have become aware of the prurient eye on the other side of the keyhole.

Despite their justified complaints, our invited critics share another assumption about America, stated or implied, that offers a basis for hope about the future. "The constitutional defenses of information and the press in the United States, and the active exercise of those rights, have been critical to the whole world, and may yet prove critical to its survival," Thompson asserts. *The Nation* stands behind those defenses as any journal of critical opinion and opposition must. Despite the hostility of a J. Edgar Hoover or the antipathy of the administrators of Ronald Reagan's justice, a structure survives to protect the discourse of dissent. Without a press of opposition, the cry of the people (to borrow Penny Lernoux's evocative phrase) would not be heard; not the Southern blacks in the Reconstruction era, not the invaded Mexicans in 1915, not the victims of McCarthyism in the 1950s or the Central Americans who today feel the scourge of American arrogance. Nor will the voices of the new internationalists, who are already framing the debates of the post-cold war world, be raised without a forum and the support that a critical culture alone can supply.

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ARTICLES.

UNITED STATES

The State of Mind Of the Union

It is appropriate to begin our exploration of the world consciousness of America with an expression of America's consciousness of itself. E.L. Doctorow's excursions into the shadow land where American myth and reality intersect superbly qualify him for this task. From Ragtime, *in which he probed the fictional truth of American history, to his latest book,* World's Fair, *in which the futuristic dreams of New York's 1939 exhibition intersect with a boy's dreams of the adult world, Doctorow has let his imagination play over the American social skyline.*

E.L. DOCTOROW

Those who talk to them and teach and publish them say that many of our young writers don't want to write so much as they want to be rich and famous. Literature is seen as an entry to the good life. This might be an amusing irony of passing interest except that if we go through SoHo and the East Village, we find the same attitude among young artists. They don't seem particularly dedicated to painting. Their passion is to make a big art-world splash and to do it as quickly as possible without working through to some kind of earned truth. Truth is phantom; reality is paint on canvas and dollar bills.

I'm not sure this spirit is unprecedented in Western civilization, but I think it is in America. And because I'm a writer I tend to regard my profession, in fact all arts and their practitioners, as our country's eye of light. It sees and can be seen into.

Where did this new attitude come from? Of course every writer I have ever known has been interested in money. They've talked about it, hustled for it, dreamed of it, stolen it and occasionally made it. But until now the best have let the world come to them, in patience or in hope or in bitterness, and whatever mad or cunning beings they've been, the doing of it has been the thing. They've written because they were helpless not to; they've written even at the price of their own destruction and the destruction of everyone around them.

The new attitude borrows something of the accelerated sense of life of the 1920s, when precocity and a daring irreverence caught up young people as the stock market had their fathers. But there is something unrecognizable here: it is not a spirit of selling out because it lacks that moral reference entirely; it is a kind of mutantcy, I think, a structural flaw of mind that suggests evolution in a social context.

What is that context?

The PEN American Center's recent hospitality to the writers of the world at the 48th International PEN Congress was lavish in the extreme. Under its president, Norman Mailer, some $800,000 was raised to feed and house and convene the visiting writers and to show them the city, from the Temple of Dendur at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, to the temple of Saul Steinberg on Park Avenue. A large part of the money was raised by a series of readings on Broadway: wealthy people paid $1,000 a seat for eight evenings of readings by older and celebrated American authors, including Mailer himself, Kurt Vonnegut, William F. Buckley Jr. and Woody Allen. Then, with the money in hand, Mailer invited Secretary of State George Shultz to address the opening session of the congress at the New York Public Library.

The dispute that invitation occasioned has been well publicized and needn't be reprised here. Mailer offered his critics two rationales for his action. The first was his hope, from some collegiality with power, to persuade the Reagan Administration to rescind the McCarran-Walter Act, which PEN views as a detestable and ludicrous impingement on the free movement of foreign authors and scholars across our borders. The second reason was expressed in the heat of the controversy before Shultz made his speech. He would have thought it obvious, Mailer said, that he had invited the Secretary because of the dignity his presence would lend to the proceedings.

That Norman Mailer wanted a touch of the scepter interests me. One would suppose that an international gathering of many of the best writers in the world needed nothing more for its dignity. For a writer, for an artist of any kind, the work confers its own dignity. Political endorsement should make a writer wary—as it did Robert Lowell, who in the 1960s turned down an invitation to the White House.

Nevertheless, PEN's congress lit the attention of the government, the media and the kind of people who almost nightly combine charitable impulses with having a good time. PEN has entry now to the glamour-charity circuit and can have more financing for its good works than it has ever had before. And so a poor, feisty writers' club gravitates to money and power.

Why is it I see in my mind at this moment the presiding smile of Ronald Reagan? We have watched Reagan reallocate the economic resources of this country, in an exponential leap, to military goods; we have watched him attend to the dismantling of legislation worked out historically from the moral logic of the Constitution and designed to make a more equitable society—the antitrust laws, the labor protection laws, the civil rights laws. We have watched him rouse from dormancy a new generation of know-nothings to affirm his covert racism and anti-Semitism, to raise hell with the books in school libraries and texts in grade schools and to support the ideological simplism of his foreign policy; we have seen his contempt for poor people on welfare and for environmental law, as if he thought, perhaps, that only poor

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people on welfare breathe air or drink water. But what will a historian of his Administration say of its peculiar effect on the intellectual and literary and academic life of this country, the specialized cells of the body politic that compose its spirit?

At the same PEN congress—an event of many illuminations—Günter Grass remarked during an exchange in which he referred to the condition of the South Bronx: "Why is it I cannot say anything these days in criticism of America without first giving assurances that I am not a communist?" *The New York Times* reported this fairly but then, in a grisly confirmation of Grass's sense of where we are now, went on to mention that Grass is not known to have publicly criticized a Communist government in the past eighteen years.

The debasement of intellectual life in this country is perhaps more apparent to visitors than to natives because we see it only in its daily minutiae. We may even have become inured to the neoconservatives' standard reaction to dissent, which is to point a warning finger in the direction of the Soviet Union so we don't forget how free we are in our ingratitude. In their Manichaean view, to criticize American foreign policy vis-à-vis Nicaragua, for example, or South Africa, is to give de facto support to the Soviet Union. The corollary to this proposition is that we best preserve our freedom of speech by refusing to exercise it. As a bit of pure and simple Babbittry, this perception of self-criticism as a kind of betrayal or treason is beneath contempt; these days, though, it is not George F. Babbitt, the Midwestern salesman, expressing it but a significant branch of the intellectual community. That is a kind of news, is it not?

For some of our literary critics a political novel written by an American is likely to be "adversarial" and therefore esthetically flawed. One academic wrote a year or two ago that some of our well-known novelists (Mailer and Doctorow were two I remember in his citation) have as their raison d'être the undermining of the very society that has so well rewarded them. "Love it or leave it" was a hard-hat phrase in the 1960s. In the 1980s it is the taunt of the effete intellectuals coming from the heart of the academy.

The truth is that the Republic may have more to fear from the loss of overreaching ambition on the part of its young writers than from the errant ingratitude, if it is that, of the older ones. The loss of a social dimension in much of the otherwise impressive fiction being written today has been widely noted. Horizons have diminished. Today's novelists are technically superior to those of thirty and forty years ago, but they are less inclined to take on the big stories. Many of a season's novels will be harmonious with one another, as if everyone is sewing a great patchwork quilt. Salman Rushdie was one of the many speakers at the PEN congress who noted that Americans seem unaware of the effect of the United States on the rest of the world. Others were less circumspect than Rushdie. They called our writing insular, naïve and provincial. The estimable John Updike defended us by reformulating in literary terms George Washington's conviction that this country should beware of foreign entanglements: he characterized his experience of the American state as a pastoral. The German writer Hans Magnus Enzensberger dryly commented that there seemed to be no recognition in Updike's Arcadia that the United States had the capacity, at its own discretion, to blow up the planet. Thus, positions were staked out in what is of course an ancient argument, which can never be resolved—the degree of political engagement necessary or desirable in an artist's work. Neither side of the argument will guarantee a good book. A great work usually reflects the entirety of the argument as it has oscillated in the mind of the writer. But that the argument should surface now, with each insufficient side of it divided fairly neatly between America and the rest of the world, suggests the possibility that we are suffering some state of mind not apparent to ourselves.

How could this national state of mind be characterized? If at its best the individual writer's mind is a democracy, where conflicting points of view are in constant struggle, and every truth has an answering truth, and every idea is subject to transformation; so at its worst the writer's mind can be the tyranny of one argument. I take the writer as the micro-nation. When, for whatever reason, a nation's myths —the prevailing beliefs of its ruling powers—go unargued and unexamined, the society's state of mind can be said to be tyrannical.

I have no empirical means of proving that such a state of mind exists in this country today. I am not a sociologist. I am not given to surveys; I don't take stock in polls or in journalistic overviews of the newsmagazine variety. My writer's mind thinks in images and makes connections in metaphor. So I will introduce here a fanciful notion, the possibility that our President is a resolved phantom of cold war, a kind of golem sprung from national premises and fears that have not been seriously examined in almost half a century. We have made him to protect ourselves from our enemies, but he has laid on us the burden of his inert spirituality. Even as he calls for reverence for life, even as he holds hands with ministers at prayer breakfasts, the dead weight of our times presses down on us. And the failure of the American artistic and intellectual community to separate itself, lift itself, from this phenomenon testifies to its unnatural power.

Everywhere in our culture these days the idea of progress is bashed and social action is scorned, from the Tory ideaplays that come from London to Broadway for critical raves and long runs, to the sophistries of racism in our sociological journals. The assemblage of brilliant Eastern European and Russian poets and writers and scholars who have emigrated here in the past ten years or so to write and teach has had great influence on our thinking. They are concerned lest we not learn from their experience. They warn us against the utopian impulse; they tell us that the desire for perfection is the source of all social woe. They have paid dearly for this knowledge but it is not American knowledge, it is European knowledge, with the terrible legacy of monarchal European history behind it. They look at us as innocents. They think our idealism breeds revolution. They see a legislative measure that presumes the responsibility of government to act equitably toward its

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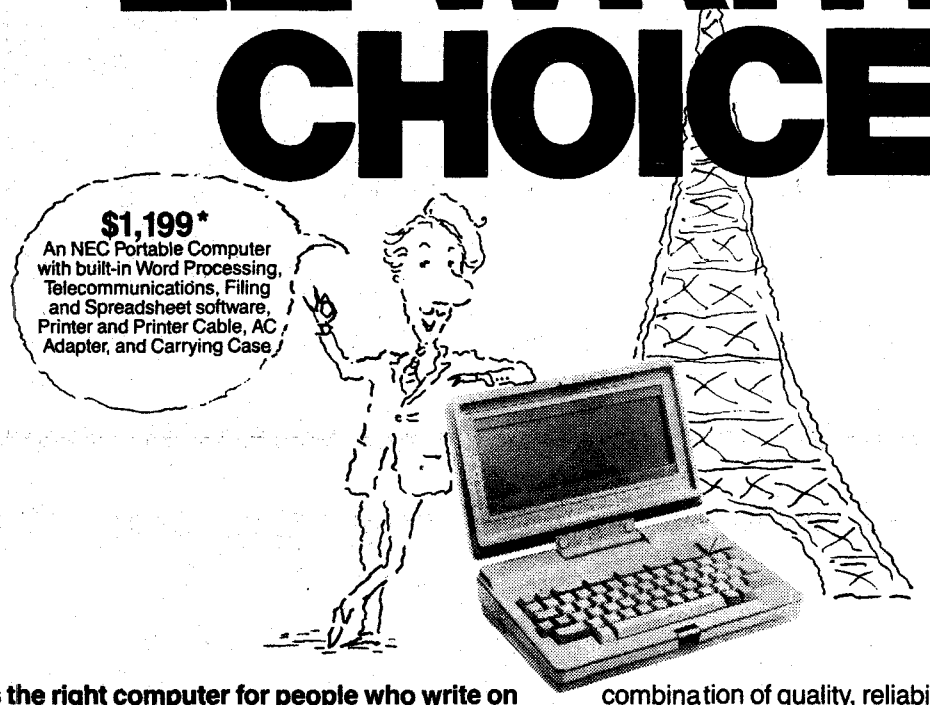
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citizens as incipient communism. They condemn as naïve and dangerously liberal a protest that our government is doing something immoral or cruel to another government. They misapply what they know. They forget or can't believe that insofar as revolutions go, ours is 200 years further along than the one they come from. The rest of us should be as wary of this particular foreign entanglement as we are of the more generalized foreign insistence that we become *engagé*, but we are not. Some of us join the shrill cry, others bury themselves in domesticity, while our golem stalks.

And what of our hottest school of literary criticism, which takes the concept of ambiguity to new heights, or depths? A book is a text or artifact whose meanings are to be disentangled and put alongside one another for examination. This is a professional discipline worthy of a play by Molière. Its conclusion—that the author of the piece is finally of no consequence and that the illuminations of the piece are simply a matter of supracritical excitations—can be interpreted as meaning that the compositions of words have no or very little value. This is not too far from the conviction of illiterate teenagers who roam the streets and subways of New York with their ghetto blasters booming. At least they know they live in a postnuclear world.

Everything I've noted here, from the young writers impatient of a long creative life to the deconstruction of our critics; every variety of intellectual retreat, of conformism; every small loss of moral acuity, I see collectively as the secret story of American life under the bomb. We have had the bomb on our minds since 1945. It was first our weaponry and then our diplomacy, and now it's our economy. How can we suppose that something so monstrously powerful would not, after forty years, compose our identity? The great golem we have made against our enemies is our culture, our bomb culture—its logic, its faith, its vision.

That is my inflamed notion. Perhaps it can be tested in debate. That would be good. Now that it is out in the open, we might do well to move transversely in our search for meaningful reference, to leave Prague for Heidelberg, to put aside the golem and consider the story of Faust. Is it possible that the bomb, in its inventions and reinventions, is not primarily deterrence, or even a weapon at all, but an overwrought ambition, an impiety? After all, two of its progenitors, as students in Germany, were inspired one sunny day to think of getting something going in the laboratory approximating the nuclear reactions of the sun. And since men in high places now arrogate to themselves the right to begin a nuclear war, we should perhaps recognize that we have on earth a spiritual disaster of unprecedented magnitude. I look to the Catholic sensibility when I think of Faust and Mephistopheles: perhaps this sense of spiritual disaster is what the American Catholic bishops had in mind when they declared, in their pastoral letter, their opposition on moral grounds to any use of nuclear weapons. No emperor or fiend from the past—not Caesar, not Alexander the Great, not Attila the Hun—ever claimed the sovereign right to determine the life and future of the entire universe. Yet that power is now

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claimed by every graduate engineer who steps into a nuclear weapons laboratory. The original Faust had twenty-four years before the devil collected him. Mephistopheles is no more generous now than he was at the University of Heidelberg in 1509: our twenty-four years were up in 1969. It is fair to assume that he has been sweeping up his souls for some time now.

To wake up to the character of our culture is to struggle, with all heightened self-interest, to reassert our primacy in it. I appeal to the traditional values of self-aggrandizement for which we artists and intellectuals are supposed to be famous. The current state of mind of the union is intolerable if only because its discourse is not its own. It is the body's discourse. That fact alone should ignite our pride. We may then consider in our debate to come the idea that art in America has to find a postnuclear politics of transcendent diction.

Otherwise we might find ourselves, if we live, in the position the Hungarian writer George Konrád described to me at dinner one recent night. He was explaining why writers are so dangerous to the states of the Eastern bloc. There is no more Poland, he said. There is no more Romania or Czechoslovakia. They no longer exist. All that's left of each is a language and the stories and poems that carry it and the culture it recalls. The writers are the memory of the nations that once were, and therefore a threat to the states that pretend they still are. □

CANADA

Through the One-Way Mirror

Does propinquity breed familiarity or fear? Who knows better than the Canadians? The novelist Margaret Atwood, who lives in Toronto, is a close watcher of trends south of the border. Her latest novel, The Handmaid's Tale, *is set in a future United States dominated by the forces of the religious right. Her other books include* Surfacing, Dancing Girls *and* Murder in the Dark.

MARGARET ATWOOD

The noses of a great many Canadians resemble Porky Pig's. This comes from spending so much time pressing them against the longest undefended one-way mirror in the world. The Canadians looking through this mirror behave the way people on the hidden side of such mirrors usually do: they observe, analyze, ponder, snoop and wonder what all the activity on the other side means in decipherable human terms.

The Americans, bless their innocent little hearts, are rarely aware that they are even being watched, much less by the Canadians. They just go on doing body language, playing in the sandbox of the world, bashing one another on the head and planning how to blow things up, same as always. If they think about Canada at all, it's only when things get a bit snowy or the water goes off or the Canadians start fussing over some piddly detail, such as fish. Then they regard them as unpatriotic; for Americans don't really see Canadians as foreigners, not like the Mexicans, unless they do something weird like speak French or beat the New York Yankees at baseball. Really, think the Americans, the Canadians are just like us, or would be if they could.

Or we could switch metaphors and call the border the longest undefended backyard fence in the world. The Canadians are the folks in the neat little bungalow, with the tidy little garden and the duck pond. The Americans are the other folks, the ones in the sprawly mansion with the bad-taste statues on the lawn. There's a perpetual party, or something, going on there—loud music, raucous laughter, smoke billowing from the barbecue. Beer bottles and Coke cans land among the peonies. The Canadians have their own beer bottles and barbecue smoke, but they tend to overlook it. Your own mess is always more forgivable than the mess someone else makes on your patio.

The Canadians can't exactly call the police—they suspect that the Americans are the police—and part of their distress, which seems permanent, comes from their uncertainty as to whether or not they've been invited. Sometimes they do drop by next door, and find it exciting but scary. Sometimes the Americans drop by their house and find it clean. This worries the Canadians. They worry a lot. Maybe those Americans want to buy up their duck pond, with all the money they seem to have, and turn it into a cesspool or a water-skiing emporium.

It also worries them that the Americans don't seem to know who the Canadians are, or even where, exactly, they are. Sometimes the Americans call Canada their backyard, sometimes their front yard, both of which imply ownership. Sometimes they say they are the Mounties and the Canadians are Rose Marie. (All these things have, in fact, been said by American politicians.) Then they accuse the Canadians of being paranoid and having an identity crisis. Heck, there is no call for the Canadians to fret about their identity, because everyone knows they're Americans, really. If the Canadians disagree with that, they're told not to be so insecure.

One of the problems is that Canadians and Americans are educated backward from one another. The Canadians—except for the Québécois, one keeps saying—are taught about the rest of the world first and Canada second. The Americans are taught about the United States first, and maybe later about other places, if they're of strategic importance. The Vietnam War draft dodgers got more culture shock in Canada than they did in Sweden. It's not the clothing that is different, it's those mental noises.

Of course, none of this holds true when you get close enough, where concepts like "Americans" and "Canadians" dissolve and people are just people, or anyway some of them are, the ones you happen to approve of. I, for instance, have never met any Americans I didn't like, but I only get to meet the nice ones. That's what the businessmen think too, though they have other individuals in mind. But big-scale

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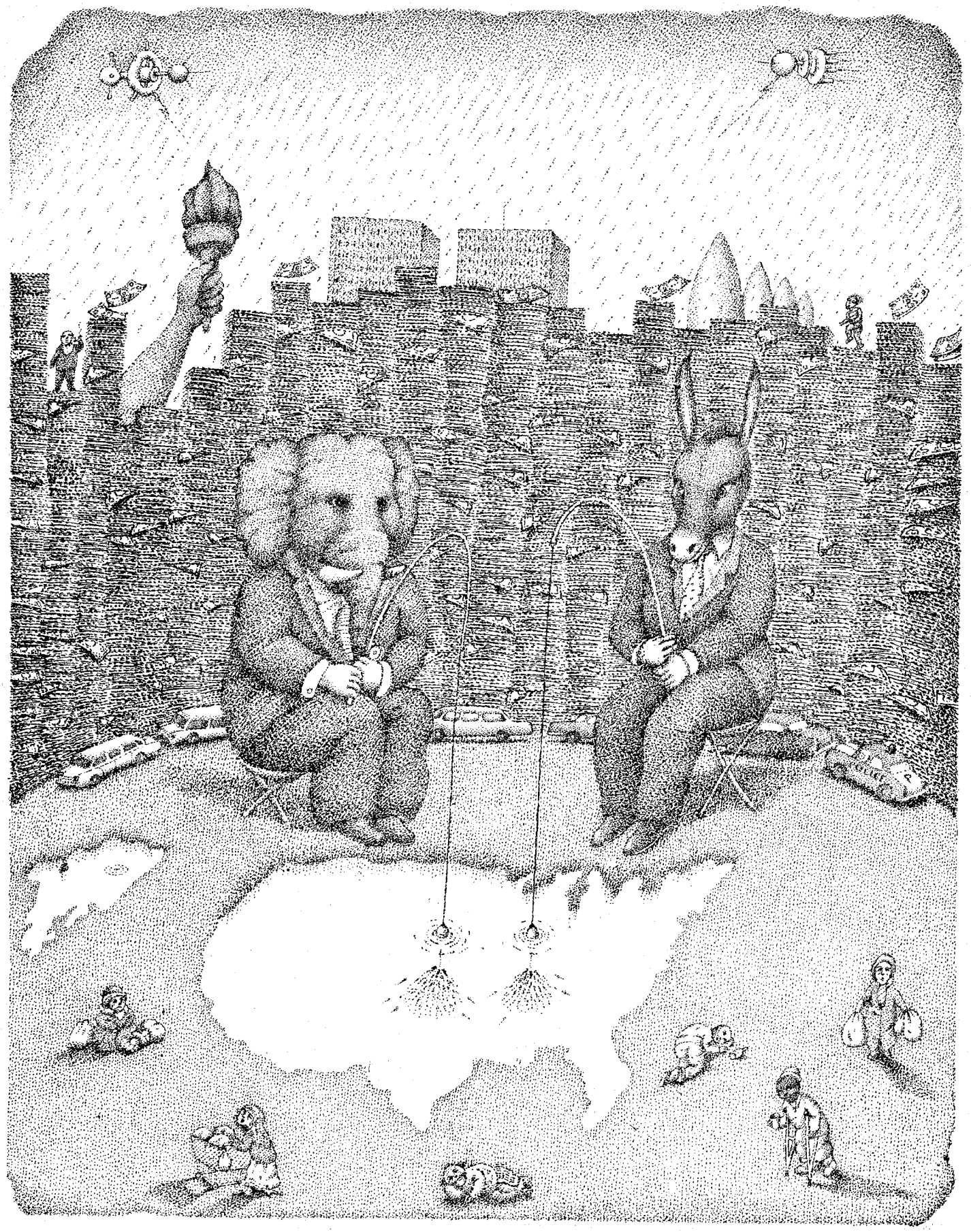
Czechoslovakia

PETER SIS



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national mythologies have a way of showing up in things like foreign policy, and at events like international writers' congresses, where the Canadians often find they have more to talk about with the Australians, the West Indians, the New Zealanders and even the once-loathed snooty Brits, now declining into humanity with the dissolution of empire, than they do with the impenetrable and mysterious Yanks.

But only sometimes. Because surely the Canadians understand the Yanks. Shoot, don't they see Yank movies, read Yank mags, bobble around to Yank music and watch Yank telly, as well as their own, when there is any?

Sometimes the Canadians think it's their job to interpret the Yanks to the rest of the world; explain them, sort of. This is an illusion: they don't understand the Yanks as much as they think they do, and it isn't their job.

But, as we say up here among God's frozen people, when Washington catches a cold, Ottawa sneezes. Some Canadians even refer to their capital city as Washington North and wonder why we're paying those guys in Ottawa when a telephone order service would be cheaper. Canadians make jokes about the relationship with Washington which the Americans, in their thin-skinned, bunion-toed way, construe as anti-American (they tend to see any nonworshipful comment coming from that gray, protoplasmic fuzz outside their borders as anti-American). They are no more anti-American than the jokes Canadians make about the weather: it's there, it's big, it's hard to influence, and it affects your life.

Of course, in any conflict with the Dreaded Menace, whatever it might be, the Canadians would line up with the Yanks, probably, if they thought it was a real menace, or if the Yanks twisted their arms or other bodily parts enough or threatened a "scorched-earth policy" (another real quote). Note the qualifiers. The Canadian idea of a menace is not the same as the U.S. one. Canada, for instance, never broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba, and it was quick to recognize China. Contemplating the U.S.-Soviet growling match, Canadians are apt to recall a line from Blake: "They became what they beheld." Certainly both superpowers suffer from the imperial diseases once so noteworthy among the Romans, the British and the French: arrogance and myopia. But the bodily-parts threat is real enough, and accounts for the observable wimpiness and flunkiness of some Ottawa politicians. Nobody, except at welcoming-committee time, pretends this is an equal relationship.

Americans don't have Porky Pig noses. Instead they have Mr. Magoo eyes, with which they see the rest of the world. That would not be a problem if the United States were not so powerful. But it is, so it is. □

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MEXICO

Land of Jekyll And Hyde

Much of Carlos Fuentes's life has been closely bound to the United States, but his perspective is uniquely international. He was born in Washington, where his father was a member of the diplomatic corps, and now divides his time between Boston and Mexico City. In the 1950s he worked in Mexico's Foreign Ministry and later served as Mexican Ambassador to France. He is the author of several novels, including Terra Nostra *and, most recently,* The Old Gringo. *In 1984 he won Mexico's National Prize in Literature. He is teaching this term at Cornell University.*

CARLOS FUENTES

The perception of the United States in Latin America has undergone enormous variations ever since history brought us together as inevitable neighbors. The American Revolution inspired our own founding fathers to draw political legitimacy from revolt. The Constitution of the United States became the model for our own republics, but the limitations proved to be fictional ones, whereby a legal country disguised a real country. Latin American conservatives in the early nineteenth century were the militant foes of the United States. They saw it as an uncompromisingly revolutionary state, unwilling to reach any kind of conciliation with exiled Tories, ready to repel their *contra* attacks and to send them expeditiously to face firing squads.

Latin American conservatives saw the United States as a multiple menace to their interests: it was a Protestant power in the hemisphere, and it was a modernizing, democratic, capitalist and egalitarian power. Those were the worst sins in the conservative book, where virtue spelled Catholicism, Counter Reformation, royal absolutism, the divine right of kings, patrimonialism and privilege. But most of all, conservatives from Mexico to Argentina feared the expansionist policies of the new American republic.

They were soon joined in this fear by Latin American liberals, who initially identified with all those U.S. virtues that the conservatives regarded as vices. But the annexation of Texas and the entire Southwest after the Mexican War of 1846, and the interventionist policies following the Spanish-American War of 1898, convinced liberals that the conservatives were right: the gringos were the enemy.

Admiration changed to fear and fault finding. At the turn

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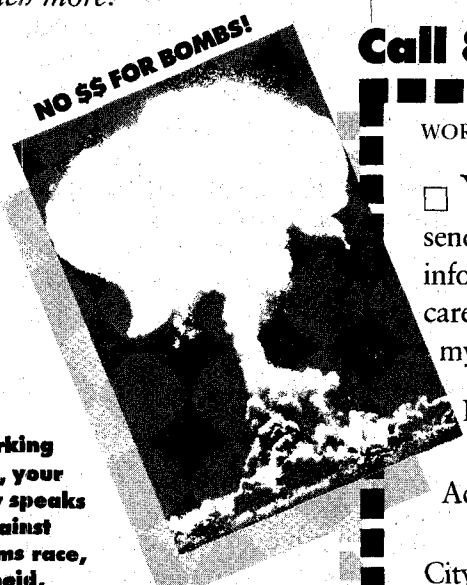

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Brazil

MARGUERITA BORNSTEIN FAHRER

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of the century most Latin Americans readily adopted the views expressed in "Ariel," the enormously influential essay by the Uruguayan writer José Enrique Rodó. The United States stands for progress and material achievements, Rodó wrote, but it is a barren spiritual landscape. Cultural primacy in this hemisphere belongs to the Latins, who may be materially poor but are spiritually rich. The brutality of U.S. interventions in Nicaragua, Mexico, Haiti, Honduras, Cuba and the Dominican Republic during the first three decades of this century magnified and justified this attitude.

I believe that, by and large, it was my generation that upset Rodó's perception. Pablo Neruda had sung with and to Whitman; Octavio Paz made us conscious of Pound, Cummings and Crane, whom he translated. Julio Cortázar not only translated the complete stories of Poe; he brought jazz to Latin America. Gabriel García Márquez proclaimed his admiration for Hemingway and Faulkner, and Jorge Luis Borges translated *The Wild Palms* in 1956. I wrote on Melville and movies. And indeed, a great deal of the work of Guillermo Cabrera Infante and Manuel Puig is an ironic extension of the Hollywood dream.

Having grown up in the United States, I was willing and able, in spite of catcalls from my compatriots, to praise the democratic process of the United States, its capacities for self-criticism, self-government, self-negotiation, even self-flagellation and self-consciousness. In the New Deal era I witnessed the best in the United States: the value it set on its human capital, its energy and enthusiasm for solving problems, its choice of dialogue instead of confrontation on Latin American issues. When the United States joined the effort to win World War II, Roosevelt's noninterventionist policies in Latin America had already won the support of most of the people there. We were finally willing to admit that there was a conjunction of the actions and the ideals of the North Americans.

This illusion has been painfully shattered over the past thirty years. Two democratically elected governments in this hemisphere—Guatemala's in 1954 and Chile's in 1973—were overthrown with the full connivance of U.S. administrations. Who could then believe that the United States truly favored the democratic process in the continent? Washington placed two indigenous Latin American revolutions—Cuba's in 1959 and Nicaragua's in 1979—in the context of the East-West conflict and then forced them to live up to that self-fulfilling prophecy. The lesson was clearly understood by Latin Americans: the United States does not care about democracy in Latin America. It worries more about the independence of formerly dependent Latin American republics and will risk anything—including the stability of other, friendly republics—to realign its client states.

The perversion of language that accompanies this perversion of politics is best illustrated by Reagan's rhetoric on the Nicaraguan *contras*. By calling them "freedom fighters" and "the moral equivalent of our Founding Fathers," he may hoodwink members of Congress and part of the media, but he merely reminds Latin Americans that the *contras* are paid and manipulated by the United States government, that they are recruited and commanded by Somoza's former National Guardsmen and that they are criminals who not only kill Nicaraguan farmers, women and children but are also particularly adept at killing one another. Their internal brutality is perfectly documented by Christopher Dickey in his recent book, *With the Contras*.

So we are left with this final image of the United States: a democracy inside but an empire outside; Dr. Jekyll at home, Mr. Hyde in Latin America.

We will continue to praise the democratic achievements and the cultural values of the society of the United States. But we will continue to oppose its arrogant and violent policies in Latin America. We will do so painfully, because we love so many things in the United States. We will not confuse the United States and the Soviet Union, or indeed accept their moral equivalence. The problem is far more tragic: the Russians act as an empire inside and outside. They are perfectly coherent. The United States, by acting like the Russians in its sphere of influence, becomes profoundly incoherent and hypocritical.

Latin Americans must not simply ship Mr. Hyde back to Washington. We must defeat him in his old stamping grounds, the Caribbean and Central America. Then we can all sit down and talk with Dr. Jekyll, his alter ego having been exorcised by his friends in this hemisphere. □

LATIN AMERICA

Tío Sam's Big Financial Stick

Penny Lernoux has been The Nation*'s Latin America correspondent for many years and writes for other U.S. publications as well from her base in Bogotá, Colombia. In 1980 she received the Sigma Delta Chi and Maria Moors Cabot awards for her reporting on Latin America. She is the author of* Cry of the People *and* In Banks We Trust.

PENNY LERNOUX

After five years of Reaganism, Tío Sam looks uglier than usual, bashing little countries in Central America and the Caribbean and taking food from the hungry throughout the region. But if the bully seems meaner, he is also perceived by Latin Americans as being weaker; none of their governments have a $200-billion-plus deficit.

Despite Latin Americans' near-unanimous hope that the gringos will go home, Washington doggedly pursues its military policies in Central America. The Contadora initiative survives not as a mechanism to end the *contra* war, since the Latin Americans know perfectly well that Washington has no intention of renouncing its warmongering, but as a symbol of unity against the interloper. Regional solidarity has also coalesced around the foreign debt issue, but here the Latin Americans feel they are in a stronger position as

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the Achilles' heel of the U.S. financial system: if they go under, so will some American banks.

The knowledge that the United States has become a debtor nation just like themselves has tempered the Latin Americans' traditional awe of it. Yet no head of state, including Fidel Castro, has repudiated the region's $370 billion debt, the largest part of which is held by U.S. banks. Several countries have stopped making interest payments, including Bolivia and Peru, and all agree they will never be able to repay the principal. Still, it would take unusual courage, or foolhardiness, to tell Citibank and Chase Manhattan to go to hell.

Fear of an economic embargo and the loss of trade with Europe and Japan has forced Latin American governments to continue the debt charade so that U.S. banks can pretend solvency. But it is clear that the game cannot continue much longer. Statistics from the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean show that the region transferred $30 billion to the First World last year, mostly for debt repayment. The total net capital outflow from 1981 to 1985 was a staggering $106 billion. Meanwhile, most Latin American economies have stagnated, and per capita incomes have fallen to 1977 levels. "If Latin America does not succeed this year in reversing the negative trends," warned Uruguayan President Julio Sanguinetti, "we will witness some blowup somewhere."

The recent crash in oil prices is bound to hasten a crisis somewhere, most likely in Mexico. So far Washington has offered only patchwork solutions, such as buying larger quantities of Mexican oil and encouraging U.S. banks to lend Latin Americans more money under the so-called Baker plan. Proposed last fall by Treasury Secretary James Baker 3d, the plan has several major flaws. One is its premise that American banks will voluntarily throw good money after bad without a U.S. government guarantee against default. Another is the demand that Latin Americans further tighten their belts when a majority do not have enough to eat. Even if foreign banks met Baker's target of $29 billion in loans over the next three years, the amount is a pittance compared with debt payments due during that time. Nor would the plan give Latin American economies sufficient breathing space to grow again. As Castro has observed, financial tinkering will not solve a problem that has become structured into relations between the Third and First worlds.

Many Latin American leaders have concluded that the Baker plan was just a ploy to draw attention from the "Cuban syndrome," which developed last year following a series of debt conferences in Havana attended by important Latin American politicians, businessmen, labor representatives and Catholic bishops. Their conclusion—that the debt cannot be repaid—resurrected the specter of a debtors' club; hence, Washington's sudden offer of more money.

While fear of economic reprisals is the greatest obstacle to such a club, political considerations also militate against excessive independence. Peru's reformist President, Alan García, has been able to limit debt payments to 10 percent of export earnings only because his country had already fallen so far behind on payments when he took office last summer that bankers were delighted to get 10 percent. But García has not so much as hinted at a moratorium. Even giant Brazil, which has no qualms about talking back to the International Monetary Fund and which frequently postpones debt payments, will not go so far. "What's Brazil afraid of?" wondered a South American politician active in promoting a debtors' cartel. "The marines couldn't invade so big a country!"

Well, no, but the Central Intelligence Agency could certainly encourage disgruntled military men to mount a coup, as it did in 1964. Almost every country in Latin America has been the target of destabilization efforts supported by the United States because a government crossed swords with U.S. business interests, and they all know that the C.I.A. has been monitoring debt meetings. Although the pendulum in Latin America has swung away from military dictatorships and toward elected governments, the armed forces retain substantial power. Most military leaders have had U.S. training, insuring that they will identify their countries' interests with those of the United States.

Fear of their own armies has also led the South Americans to view the Central American morass with trepidation. Although unenthusiastic about the Sandinistas, South Americans deplore the *contra* war and would like to distance themselves from the whole mess, but the Reagan Administration has encouraged the region's military leaders to blame the Sandinistas for insurrections in the Andean coun-

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The "Faces of War" television organizing campaign is directed by Neighbor to Neighbor, a project of Food First—the Institute for Food and Development Policy founded by Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins. You may know our books on Nicaragua (*Now We Can Speak* and *What Difference Could a Revolution Make?*) and dozens more on the root causes of world hunger. We've turned to television to reach the millions of people who don't read our books.

Dr. Charlie Clements' Americans for Peace in the Americas is co-sponsor of "Faces of War."

"Faces of War" is so powerful, we've been shut out of some of the nation's most important cities.

In 20 top markets, TV station executives have refused to sell us time even though many of them regularly sell time to right-wing evangelists Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson and Jimmy Swaggart. So we've filed suit with the FCC and kicked up a storm.

You may have heard us talking about "Faces of War" on *The Today Show, Entertainment Tonight,* or *All Things Considered,* or read about us in *The New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times.*

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Dallas, KTWS-27, 3/12, 11:30 pm
Memphis, WMKW-30, 3/22, 10 pm
Oklahoma City, KAUT-43, 3/19, 9:30 pm and KOKH-25, 3/25, 11:30 pm
Lawton, OK & Wichita Falls, TX, KSWO-7, 3/23, 1:30 pm
Little Rock, AR, KLRT-16, 3/16 & 3/23, 8:30 pm
Portland, ME, WMTW-8, 3/23, 11:30 pm
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tries. Although there is no evidence that such a link exists, State Department propaganda is used by the political right and its military allies to frustrate reforms. In Colombia, for example, where President Belisario Betancur was severely criticized for having attempted to negotiate a truce with the guerrillas, Secretary of State George Shultz gave Betancur's enemies ammunition by claiming that the Sandinistas had masterminded last November's guerrilla attack on the Palace of Justice in Bogotá. The story was pure invention and so ill conceived that even the Colombian Defense Ministry rejected it. Nevertheless, the brouhaha damaged Betancur's credibility and nearly forced him to break relations with Nicaragua.

Betancur's experience has not been lost on other South American leaders, who, however much they would like to forget the debt and Nicaragua, walk softly in the presence of the man with the big stick—particularly because Reagan cannot tell the difference between Bolivia and Brazil and is capable of hitting them all with it. □

JAMAICA

View From a Small Island

Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica from 1972 through 1980, has written for The Nation *and participated in forums sponsored by the magazine. He is author of* Up the Down Escalator: Toward a New International Economic Order. *As leader of the opposition People's National Party, he has recently pulled abreast of Prime Minister Edward Seaga in the polls. Since he is not one to let political imperatives cramp his style, we could think of no one who is better qualified to give the view from the Caribbean.*

MICHAEL MANLEY

How does one comment in a few short paragraphs on one's changing perceptions, over the past generation, of the United States, the most powerful, the most complex and in many ways the most extraordinary nation in history? If any society can be reduced to quick, thumbnail analysis, it must, I suppose, be judged on the basis of three variables: the quality of life it provides for its people; its impact on other social groups; and the interaction between the first two and its economic capacity.

American capitalism had begun to work production wonders by 1930, but the political system had paid scant attention to the terrible social costs of earlier capitalist expansions. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and Harry Truman's Fair Deal sought to redress the worst of those.

President Kennedy's New Frontier sought to shift the agenda from these social preoccupations to a new, if ill-defined, vision of future challenges. But the impetus toward social change was not to be denied. The New Deal had largely ignored black America. Martin Luther King Jr. and the civil rights movement were insisting that a deal that did not include black people was neither new nor fair. To Kennedy's credit, he responded to this criticism, initiating legal changes that came to full flowering in Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs.

By the end of the 1960s, forty years of social engineering within the matrix of Keynesian economics had wrought a transformation in the quality of life in the United States. It can be argued that the 1960s represented one of those zeniths in human accomplishment with which history sustains our optimism. By the end of the decade, black America had won affirmative action programs and voting and equal rights legislation. Unemployment seldom strayed beyond the 5 percent level. The needs of poor people were increasingly being met and prices were relatively stable.

America had emerged from World War II as the world's dominant economic power and, more important, had developed two sets of institutions that were increasingly underlining and extending that power. One of them comprised the transnational corporations and the private commercial banking system. The other, in the public sector, consisted of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The 1960s were boom years, but contradictions were emerging. There was the disaster of the Vietnam War, in which America was dealt its first defeat, not by another First World power but by a courageous Third World people resolved to protect their sovereignty. The bitter memories of defeat infected the American political system and left a determination to reassert the primacy of U.S. power. That mood was reinforced in 1975, when the Cubans had the temerity to come to Angola's defense against South Africa, and it finally came to a head following the terrible affair of the U.S. Embassy in Iran.

The Vietnam War also triggered an economic chain reaction, which started with postwar inflation. That, in turn, contributed to the decision of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to fight back with the oil price hikes that began in late 1973. Cheap energy could no longer be taken for granted, and the ensuing stagflation had disastrous consequences for Third World finances.

In the second half of the 1970s the consumer society of the West was under siege, as chronic inflation eroded the huge gains in living standards made in the previous thirty years. It was inevitable that the liberal cause in the United States would suffer its greatest setback in the last quarter of this century. The phenomena that dominate the American political scene in the 1980s—Ronald Reagan, monetarism, the rise of the radical right—can be traced, I suspect, to two primary causes: the popular feeling that the liberals lacked the will to complete the task in Vietnam and to punish the Ayatollah, and the association of inflation with the welfare state.

Has the rightward shift affected the United States' dealings with other members of the international family? Yes

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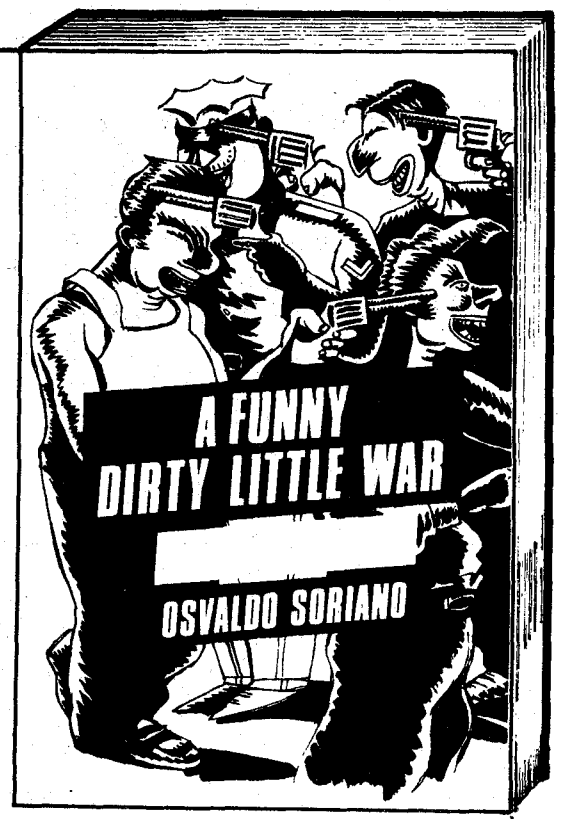

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and no. The policies of administrations from Roosevelt to Reagan toward the nations in this hemisphere have differed only in rhetoric. In the name of the Monroe Doctrine the marines have been sent in whenever there was a threat, real or perceived, to the absolute rights of U.S. investment in Central America. Kennedy authorized the invasion of Cuba. Johnson invaded the Dominican Republic. Reagan asks for $100 million to achieve the overthrow of the government of Nicaragua, even though that government polled 64 percent of the popular vote in an election that was called free and fair by hundreds of foreign observers.

On the other hand, one perceives a clear worsening of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. In the 1960s the reality of the nuclear standoff produced a pragmatic reappraisal of superpower relations. After the near-disaster of the Cuban missile crisis the stage was set for détente. Now the pragmatism of détente has given way to the rhetoric of "evil empire." Furthermore, the hostile language has been backed up by an unprecedented escalation of U.S. military expenditure in a clear reach for global superiority.

To summarize the differences in the perceptions then and now of one Third World observer who lives on a small Caribbean island: At the start of the 1960s the United States appeared to be in the throes of a social revolution that held out the promise of a fuller life for all its people regardless of race or class. Martin Luther King's dream had not materialized, but he could dream it out loud with credibility. The nuclear standoff seemed to provide an opportunity to take up items on the Third World's agenda, such as decolonization and a reordering of the world's economic arrangements. King's domestic dream was to have its echo in the hope for a New International Economic Order.

Now the dream is in retreat, as social programs are slashed every year in the world's most powerful economy. Those programs, which did so much to put a humane face on U.S. capitalism, are the casualties of a political ideology that gives primacy to military power and refuses to pay for that power with the taxes of those whose prosperity the power is supposed to protect. Suggestions for overhauling the international economy to facilitate self-sustaining Third World economic development receive short shrift. The victims of a structurally created debt crisis are told to export even if it kills them. For the rest, we are told to look to foreign capital for our salvation; apparently nobody has noticed that there isn't enough foreign capital to go around.

One hopes that the restless giant will begin to see that contradictions are emerging as surely as they did in the 1960s. A capital-starved Third World is failing to contribute what it might to the expansion of the world economy, which in turn frustrates America's own prospects for growth. Dare we hope that this situation may produce in due course a politics in which the sense of international cooperation is seen as both the extension and ultimately the best guarantee of U.S. interests? □

BRITAIN/U.S.

Your Restless Dependents

British-born Christopher Hitchens lives in Washington and contributes a biweekly column to The Nation. *Before moving to this country in 1981 he was foreign editor of the* New Statesman. *He has reported from more than forty countries and now writes for* The Spectator *and other British publications. He is author of* Cyprus, *and is preparing a book on the restoration of the Elgin marbles to Greece.*

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

Sometime late in the year 1970 I went to a rally in London to hear James Baldwin. The audience of English *bien pensants* listened politely, with occasional expressions of shock and concern, as he described how the Federal Bureau of Investigation was treating black militants. But the vicarious mood of vague solidarity was abruptly challenged when Baldwin half-turned and threw out, almost over his shoulder, the admonition, "And remember, Richard Nixon is *your* President too!"

It's often salutary to be told what you already know. The existence of a semicolonial relationship between Great Britain and the United States is one of the most closely guarded open secrets in contemporary politics. It is not in the interest of the ruling circles of either nation that the "understanding" be admitted. For one thing, it would be offensive to the self-respect of both. But only a few months ago the Defense Minister announced that the government of the United Kingdom would become the first to endorse Ronald Reagan's deluded, lethal plan for the nuclearization of space. The Minister made it plain that a prime motive in this decision (which was, as is now customary, kept from Parliament and the press until it had been made) was to secure contracts for flagging British corporations. You couldn't have it much plainer than that.

It's important to distinguish the differing kinds of reaction to this state of dependency. There is great official concern in England because of the findings of a major opinion poll. Undertaken by one of Rupert Murdoch's papers, the poll shows that a majority of Britons resent the extent of American influence on the British economy, on British defense and on British television. A similar-sized majority registered no confidence in Ronald Reagan's judgment and doubted his ability to look after British interests. The Thatcher government has confessed itself very worried by these findings, and various establishment figures have been wheeled out to provide reassurance.

One of them, Sir Peter Ramsbotham, has said that the attitudes unearthed by the poll result from one country's moving, in the space of thirty years, to a commanding position while the other sank to a precarious place at the top of the

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second league. With all due respect to the gallant Sir Peter, who was British Ambassador to Washington from 1974 to 1977, I am quite sure that he is mistaken. It was American aid that lifted the siege of the British Isles in World War II, at a time when the Hitler-Stalin pact was still fully operational. And it was an act of American statesmanship, incomparably more demanding than the Reagan doctrine, that got the British out of Suez in 1956 and put a definitive end to Tory imperialism. So we have much cause to be grateful. The people who show up as critical in this year's poll are, to a large extent, those who dislike being hostages to Ronald Reagan's nuclear fantasies. They would like it even less if they heard, as I have, Reagan advisers who say that Eisenhower was wrong at Suez and that the Tories should have been given a free hand.

Cultural resentment may exist also, but in my experience British contempt for the pelf operas of the American networks takes the same form as educated American contempt for it. In rather the same way, many people are mystified and appalled by popular American enthusiasm for certain sorts of Brit exports, like monarchy, caste distinction and the snobbish labeling of things such as Scotch and tweed. The "special relationship," in its present form, tends to reinforce conservative ideas and habits on both sides of the Atlantic. London governments, Labor and Tory, endorsed Johnson's and Nixon's war on Vietnam at a time when American public opinion was sickening of it. In his last days in the Oval Office, Nixon asked Rose Mary Woods to order a special consignment of the only newspaper in the world that still supported him, *The Times* of London. In neither case could one say that the British establishment was doing the real America any favors.

Much of the same applies today, with Thatcher underwriting the Reagan line on Central America and the Strategic Defense Initiative, and enabling his propagandists to say that "the British" are on "our" side. All that has happened is that the current generation of American strategists has learned precisely the wrong lessons from the decline of the British Empire. As someone who was brought up as that empire was closing down, I sometimes have to rub my eyes when I see Weinberger or Reagan or Perle orating. The same cheaply melodramatic warning that if we don't hold the line in country X we will soon have the barbarians at the gates. The same view of international affairs as some preposterous and unending test of "will." The same half-baked impression that one country has a special calling to rule and to own the world. These men sound just like the imperial diehards whom I remember insisting on some crackpot last stand (though I would yield to chauvinism for an instant and say that at least the Tories wrote their own speeches and delivered them with some brio).

E.H. Carr once pointed out rather dryly that English historians stopped discerning any general movement in history at about the time that history ceased to move England's way. Things have speeded up a bit since he wrote that. The United States now wields global power of a kind that the Victorians could not have imagined. It holds the power of life and death not only over its own subjects and

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its chosen enemies but over every noncombatant on earth and every past and future generation. The grandiose claim to be leader of the free world actually understates the reality. This means, I am afraid, that Americans will have to get used to the idea of being viewed with anxiety and criticism by foreigners. This is not "blaming America first"; it is taking America seriously.

In five years of writing droning socialist polemics in this country and mouthing leftist orthodoxy on chat shows, I have received shoals of letters. Only one of these urged me to return home, which I consider an amazing tribute to American tolerance and hospitality. Just the other day, Robert Novak tried to ingratiate himself with the chauvinists in a television audience by suggesting that I might be better off back where I came from. He didn't get the response he had hoped for. Doubtless *The Nation*'s 120 years of service to internationalism has been more effective than its founders dared to hope. Anyway, in our world, it isn't possible to be anything but an internationalist. In the face of ballistic nuclear imperialism, you can run but you can't hide. If I did go back to England—hey, remember, Ronald Reagan is *their* President too. □

INDIA/BRITAIN

Goodness—The American Neurosis

Salman Rushdie was born in India, lived in Pakistan and is now a British subject. He unwittingly anticipated the theme of this special issue at the recent 48th International PEN Congress in New York City by remarking that Americans are oblivious to how people in other lands see them. Rushdie's books include Shame *and* Midnight's Children, *which won the 1981 Booker-McConnell Prize.*

SALMAN RUSHDIE

A *pensée d'escalier* in the aftermath of the recent PEN congress: perhaps we could have been more generous to one another. I came home thinking how greatly I have valued American culture—the movies, the music and of course the books—and wishing I'd said so. America's writers, from Faulkner to Bellow, have had so great an impact on the way I think about writing (like Augie March, I too should like to "go at things as I have taught myself, free-style") that the quality of American literature seemed to me, at the time, to go without saying. In retrospect I'd like to have mentioned, for example, how throughout the writing of my last novel I kept a much-thumbed copy of Melville's *The Confidence Man* by my side, as a kind of touchstone. Some of the sharp, hurt defensiveness of some American speakers at the congress was born, perhaps, of the visitors' failure to make a sufficiency of such admissions.

But immediately I find myself agreeing with Günter Grass, who asked, Why should such protestations of love be necessary before any political or social critique is offered? It might have been easier to praise America if one hadn't felt that genuflection was being required of one. After all, my life is lived in America's shadow too. In my British incarnation, I have America's bombs for neighbors and could find myself in the absurd position of dying for Ronald Reagan. In India, the country of my birth, the invasion of U.S. corporations gathers force, while in Bhopal the memory of Union Carbide's great poisonous cloud that ate people's lungs and eyes has not faded. And in Pakistan, my third home, President Zia ul-Haq is, like Pahlavi, Somoza and Marcos, a bit of a Yank. All of which, you'd have supposed, entitles one to one's say.

America, however, appears to be in need of constant reassurance. Norman Mailer suggested at the PEN meeting that superstates are neurotic, just like individuals, and that the United States and the Soviet Union are undergoing identity crises. I'd like to explore that notion for a moment. Does it mean anything to call a state neurotic, crazy? If so, what?

Maybe all states, or, rather, all societies, have their special type of madness. The madness of modern Britain, for example, is located in the vicinity of the idea of greatness. "Great" Britain is, in the discourse of pubs and Parliament, the place with the greatest police force, the greatest monarchy, the greatest soccer league in the world. Politicians justify the retention of British nuclear capability by referring to this idea; they wish to go on "sitting down at the nuclear table." And Prime Minister Thatcher made express reference to past imperial glories during, and after, the Falklands/Malvinas conflict. But the British also believe in their ungreatness. All around is the evidence of economic disaster, cultural decline. Certainly people see it. Then there's the madness, the schizophrenia: in spite of the huge divergence between the rhetoric and the reality, people go on believing both. The strain between the two creates the neurosis.

America is, of course, a great power, but the American madness seems to be located not in the idea of being great, but in that of being good. Goodness is the difference between America and the Soviet Union, after all. Goodness is what makes the Americans the ones in the white hats. If it were shown that the United States (and, let's be clear, I am talking about the United States in its role as a superpower, that is, outside its own frontiers) is not particularly entitled to think of itself as good, as better than the other guys, it would simply be a very powerful country exercising that power according to the laws of geopolitics. And then what price America's language of freedom and democracy and guardianship?

I don't believe there is any case to be made for America's goodness in the international arena. Superpowers behave as superpowers. That is their nature. And yet, no matter how much evidence is offered to the American public—no matter how many E. Gough Whitlams or Salvador Allendes—a large majority of American citizens will refuse to believe

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that their country, with its rhetoric of freedom and justice (at once highly charged and down-home), can be wrong, unjust, bad. I once saw an American automobile commercial in which folks from all walks of life sang, "We love hot dogs, baseball, apple pie and Chevrolet." This is the music of innocence; it does not permit thoughts of guilt.

It's clear, though, that an uncertainty is abroad in the land, and that many Americans need fresh confirmation that God is on their side. The revival of religious fundamentalism in the modern world springs, I believe, from a need to renew national confidence—that is, it is an event inside nationalism. The great world religions preceded the idea of the nation-state; now they serve it. In very different ways the religious fervor of Poland, Iran and the United States is deeply nationalistic. It is the nation, not the individual soul, that needs to know that God is on its side.

But I see that I must qualify my remarks before I stop. A frequent criticism of "America" is its tendency to see the world in great monolithic slabs: communism, Islam and so forth. I would not like to be guilty of doing the same for the United States. It's possible to see America as a society composed of dissident cultures: black, gay, feminist, even, I dare say, socialist. I feel a great sense of affinity with those Americas. And as a member of the huge international culture of migration, there is a sense in which I feel more at home in parts of the United States than anywhere else, although I have never lived there.

Let me offer one final, tentative, hypothesis. If American radicalism is currently composed of fragmented, dissenting subcultures which feel, to some extent, disenfranchised in America, whereas American conservatism and neoconservatism are outward-looking, imperial and godly, then might it be true that the very fragmentation of dissent, its doubt and disunity, helps the American right gain and keep power? That would be a dark irony: if the legacy of modernism, that great, radical, mold-breaking force, were to be a hunger for simplicity, for an end to doubt, for Jerry Falwell, for Ronald Reagan. □

Greetings from

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FRANCE

From *Dallas* to Jackson Pollock

At the beginning of the presidency of François Mitterrand, Jack Lang, France's Minister of Culture, seemed bent on boycotting all cultural products that were made in the U.S.A. Here he explains that he had something else in mind. This article was translated by Deanna Jordan-Schmidt.

JACK LANG

The relationship between the United States and France was born with your country's independence. Both countries respect their tradition of cooperation and friendship. These bonds are even stronger today. Over the past few years I have encouraged cultural exchange so that the French may honor American artists and that the Americans may deepen their knowledge of French culture. Recently, though, the topic of so-called French anti-Americanism has been taken up by the press—or rather by part of the press—on both sides of the Atlantic. Friendship betrayed? An unexpected conflict? Neither: a simple misunderstanding.

The United States' immense economic power allows it to export American products throughout the world. The dark side of that shining coin is that the content of certain mass-produced works is banal. If we can speak of American cultural hegemony, it is only in reference to this profusion of cultural subproducts of a pale uniformity. On the other hand, the desire to export what is best, to let quality and beauty exercise their influence, can only enrich the world.

In France, we are familiar with *Dallas* but also with John Ford and Martin Scorsese. We read your great writers. We love painters like Jackson Pollock, Frank Stella, Barnett Newman, Sam Francis, Jules Olitski. But one segment of the press in France has wished to make it appear that we want to close our borders to Americans, when quite the opposite is true. We entrusted the renovation of our greatest museum, the Louvre, to an American architect, I.M. Pei; many of your artists, like film director Samuel Fuller, have found a second home in France; great exhibitions have been organized here in cooperation with American museums; and

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this year our two countries will celebrate the centennial of the Statue of Liberty.

Our task today is to strike a balance in our exchanges. That is our purpose in setting up a French book center in New York City, for example. It is clear that in the cultural field, the United States exports more than it imports. Such power can harm not only those countries that are subjected to it but also those countries that exercise it. If all countries had the same cultural standards and reference points, no influence or exchange of ideas would be possible. The United States should not want the whole world to reflect its image. America was made from many cultures, and it is in its interest to be surrounded by strong nations able to preserve their own integrity. The United States can know its grandeur only by knowing that of other nations. □

WEST GERMANY

A Revolutionary Republic

Willy Brandt, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1969 to 1974, is chair of the Social Democratic Party. His contribution to this issue arose out of conversations with editorial board member Norman Birnbaum. It was translated by Gerhard Thiebach.

WILLY BRANDT

Because *The Nation* was founded in 1865, I will begin with an excerpt from a letter sent in January of that year to Abraham Lincoln by one of my eminent predecessors in the European and German social democratic movements:

> We congratulate the American people on your re-election by a large majority.
>
> If resistance to the Slave Power was the reserved watchword of your first election, the triumphant warcry of your re-election is, Death to Slavery!
>
> From the commencement of the titanic American strife the workingmen of Europe felt instinctively that the star-spangled banner carried the destiny of their class. The contest for the territories which opened the dire epopee, was it not to decide whether the immense tracts of virgin soil should be wedded to the labor of the emigrant or prostituted by the tramp of the slave driver?
>
> When an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders dared to inscribe, for the first time in the annals of the world, "slavery" on the banner of armed revolt; when on the very spots where hardly a century ago, the idea of one great democratic republic had first sprung up, whence the first Declaration of the Rights of Man was issued, and the first impulse given to the European revolution of the eighteenth century; when on those very spots counterrevolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding "the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old Constitution," and maintained "slavery to be a beneficent institution, indeed the only solution to the great problem of the relation of labor to capital," and cynically proclaimed property in man "the corner-stone of the new edifice"; then the working classes of Europe understood at once, even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warning, that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy crusade of property against labor, and that for the men of labor, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic. Everywhere they bore therefore patiently the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis, opposed enthusiastically the pro-slavery intervention, importunities of their "betters," and from most parts of Europe contributed their quota of blood to the good cause.
>
> . . .
>
> They consider it an earnest of the epoch to come, that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world.

The letter was signed by the members of the Central Council of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) and drafted by Karl Marx. My American friends inform me that it has not been read aloud at the Republican Party's National Conventions. That is a pity; Americans would do well to remind themselves that for much of its history their nation was a bearer of hope for the economically and socially exploited, a revolutionary republic whose very existence disturbed the crowned heads and propertied classes of the Old World.

My first awareness of the United States came during the early struggle against Nazism in my country. When the black night descended on Germany, we found consolation in the United States. We saw Franklin Roosevelt's broad program of social reforms, backed by a newly resurgent union movement and many other populist groups, as the promise of democracy. The United States gave refuge to many of our comrades in the anti-Nazi movement. Some of them returned to work with me in the Social Democratic Party after the war ended. In the immediate postwar years their direct experience of the vitality of a working democracy, a democracy that strove for social equality and observed parliamentary forms, enriched our efforts to develop a political ethic in West Germany.

As Mayor of West Berlin I had unflagging support from official and unofficial Americans and American groups (particularly the unions) in the difficult task of defending democratic values in our city by democratic means. Undoubtedly the Marshall Plan, which provided a stimulus for American industry, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization served American interests. But the United States acted with an awareness that its interests were served by respecting the independence of our nation. As a Social Democrat I was close to the New Deal wing of the Democratic Party, and later to John Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey. But I also had many useful talks with more conservative American officials and politicians.

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In the turbulent 1960s Europeans witnessed America's great progress in reducing economic and social inequality through the Great Society programs. In retrospect we can say that the conflicts of that decade proved to us the vitality of American democracy. The outlawing of racial segregation, the election of black mayors in many of your great cities, is evidence for us that however much remains to be done, democracy is capable of regeneration. The debate that raged over the Vietnam War serves as a warning to political leaders in the Western alliance that they cannot invoke the "national interest" or the "battle against communism" to evade the painful process of building a domestic consensus for policies that demand sacrifices from their people. And those Americans who criticize the West German peace movement ought instead to be proud that it was the example of American democracy that inspired our young people. Incidentally, I find it a sad commentary that low-level German magistrates send protesters to jail or make them pay large fines for having demonstrated outside NATO missile bases, while Americans celebrate a national holiday in honor of that great practitioner of civil disobedience, Martin Luther King Jr.

When I was Chancellor, I had to deal with Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, who were very different from my friends among the Democrats. Today, when many American officials demand a holy crusade against communism (except in China), and against anyone and everything they dislike outside the fifty states, it is refreshing to recall the realism of Nixon and Kissinger. When West Germany sought to contribute to international peace and stability by regularizing its relations with the other Germany, the Eastern European states (particularly Poland) and the Soviet Union, the two men did not oppose our *Ostpolitik*. Of course, at that time the United States itself pursued a policy of détente and arms control.

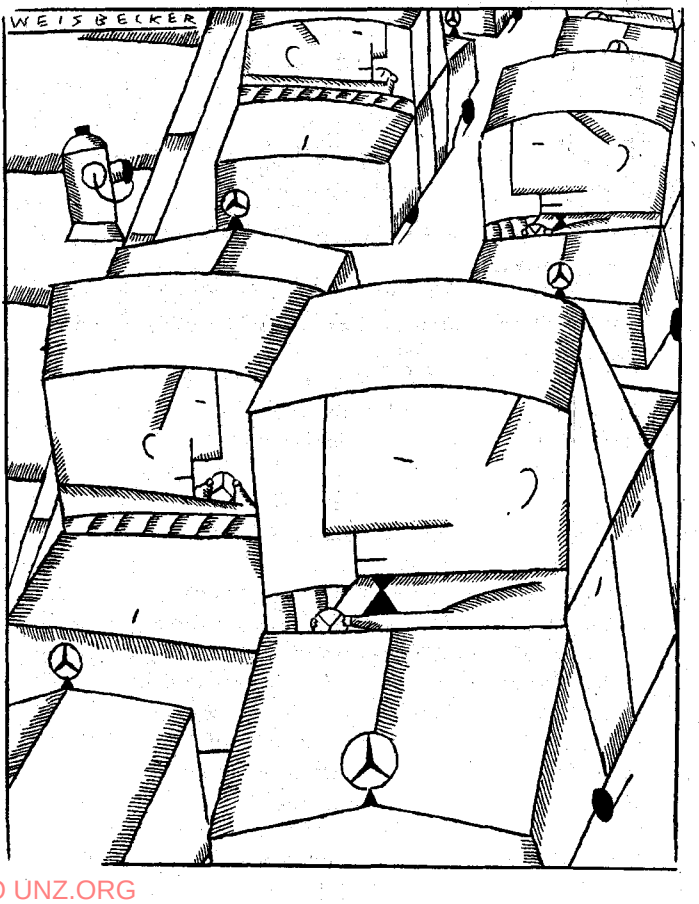
Those in the United States who then organized the campaign against ratification of the Salt II treaty (and for that matter against détente) did their country a great disservice. To seek superiority in the nuclear age is to pursue an illusion. We are condemned to coexistence or to mutual suicide. Public opinion polls have shown time and again that a majority of Americans agree with that proposition, and that they also oppose military intervention in Central America, especially if U.S. troops must be sent to accomplish what the *contras* cannot. I have always believed that the common sense of the majority will ultimately triumph over the ideological and political extremists who criticize rational arrangements for international stability as hopeless utopianism or moral cowardice. (We in Europe have noticed that many of your rhetorical heroes are at pains to leave the fighting to others.)

It is no secret that a significant segment of the European population disagrees strongly with U.S. policy on some major issues. We think the future of the world economy and the stability of our own societies cannot be left to the blind workings of the market so long as competition is among participants with unequal power. We regard the welfare state (introduced in America by Roosevelt as we were struggling with fascism) as a victory of common civic purpose. We believe that the wealthy nations have a moral duty, which is in their own long-term interests, to aid the poor people of the world. And we consider no task more urgent and more noble than the construction of a framework of common security. Again, we note from public opinion polls and from debates in the U.S. Congress that many Americans agree with us. We also note that at Geneva, President Reagan (who has also wisely decided to continue to observe the provisions of SALT II) has taken steps toward bridging the gap between his Administration and much of Europe.

The world faces serious problems. Apart from the threat of nuclear extinction, we have to deal with global poverty and the destruction of the environment. In the democratic societies, technological unemployment and continuing scarcities of public, cultural and material goods make the realization of our ideals of democratic citizenship difficult. Nothing less than a global New Deal is needed. I do not use that term unadvisedly. The United States is the country of great social movements, from abolitionism to populism, from the beginnings of the American labor movement to the industrial unionism of the 1930s. It is also a country whose scholars and writers have never hesitated to criticize its institutions—not because they thought so little of America but because they had such high standards for it. It is also a society in which religious groups have frequently spoken with prophetic voices. I have no doubt that in the decade to

France

PHILIPPE WEISBECKER



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come, Americans will renew their traditions of social innovation and reform. The revolutionary republic may be somnolent, but your friends do not believe that it is dead. □

UNITED STATES

The Empire Lovers Strike Back

Gore Vidal lives in Los Angeles and Rome. His coruscating essays on the U.S. global role always inflame as well as enlighten. Vidal has taken this occasion to respond to two of his critics, but he uses the sparks of this clash to illuminate his larger preoccupation: the changing image and reality of the American Empire.

GORE VIDAL

Recently, Norman Mailer and I chatted together at the Royale Theatre in New York, under the auspices of PEN American Center. Part of what I said was reprinted in these pages on January 11, under the title, not mine, "Requiem for the American Empire." I gave a bit of a history lesson about our empire's genesis, and I brooded on its terminus last fall, when Tokyo took over from New York as the world's economic center.

My conclusion: for America to survive economically in the coming Sino-Japanese world, an alliance with the Soviet Union is a necessity. After all, the white race is a minority race with many well-deserved enemies, and if the two great powers of the Northern Hemisphere don't band together, we are going to end up as farmers—or, worse, mere entertainment—for the more than one billion grimly efficient Asiatics. In principle, Mailer agreed.

As expected, that wonderful, wacky couple, Norman (Poddy) Podhoretz and his wife, Midge Decter, checked in. The Lunts of the right wing (Israeli Fifth Column Division), they are now, in their old age, more and more like refugees from a Woody Allen film: *The Purple Prose of West End Avenue*.

Poddy was the first to respond. He is the editor of *Commentary* (circulation 55,000, and allegedly falling; paid for by the American Jewish Committee). He is best known—and by me loved—for his autobiographical "novel," *Making It*, in which he tells us that he has made it because he has become editor of *Commentary* and might one day be a guest at the White House, as he has already been a guest of Huntington Hartford in Nassau. Over the years, Poddy has, like his employers, the A.J.C., moved from those liberal positions traditionally occupied by American Jews (and me) to the far right of American politics. The reason for that is simple. In order to get Treasury money for Israel (last year $3 billion), pro-Israel lobbyists must see to it that America's "the Russians are coming" squads are in place so that they can continue to frighten the American people into spending enormous sums for "defense," which also means the support of Israel in its never-ending wars against just about everyone. To make sure that nearly a third of the Federal budget goes to the Pentagon and Israel, it is necessary for the pro-Israel lobbyists to make common cause with our lunatic right. Hence, the virulent propaganda.

Poddy denounced Mailer and me in the pages of the *New York Post*. According to him, we belong to that mindless majority of pinko intellectuals who actually think that the nation spends too much on the Pentagon and not enough on, say, education. Since sustained argument is not really his bag, he must fall back on the ad hominem attack, a right-wing specialty—and, of course, on our flag, which he wears like a designer kaftan because "the blessings of freedom and prosperity are greater and more widely shared [here] than in any country known to human history." Poddy should visit those Western European countries whose per capita income is higher than ours. All in all, Poddy is a silly billy.

Significantly, the one yiddish word that has gained universal acceptance in this country is *chutzpah*. Example: In 1960, Mr. and Mrs. Podhoretz were in upstate New York where I used to live. I was trying out a play at the Hyde Park Playhouse; the play was set during the Civil War. "Why," asked Poddy, "are you writing a play about, of all things, the Civil War?" I explained to him that my mother's family had fought for the Confederacy and my father's for the Union, and that the Civil War was—and is—to the United States what the Trojan War was to the Greeks, the great single tragic event that continues to give resonance to our Republic.

"Well, to me," said Poddy, "the Civil War is as remote and as irrelevant as the War of the Roses." I realized then that he was not planning to become an "assimilated American," to use the old-fashioned terminology; but, rather, his first loyalty would always be to Israel. Yet he and Midge stay on among us, in order to make propaganda and raise money for Israel—a country they don't seem eager to live in. Jewish joke, circa 1900: A Zionist is someone who wants to ship other people off to Palestine.

Midge was next to strike. But before she launched her attack, in something called *Contentions*, she put on her thinking cap and actually read what I wrote. I give her high marks for that. Unfortunately, she found my history lesson hard going. But then, like most of our Israeli fifth columnists, Midge isn't much interested in what the *goyim* were up to before Ellis Island. She also likes the ad hominem attack. When I noted that our writers seldom speak out on matters of war and peace because so many of them are paid for by universities that receive money from the garrison state, Midge tartly retorted, "*He*, after all, is not paid by a university but by those great centers of independence, the film companies." Since my last Hollywood film, *The Best Man*, was made in 1964, I have been "paid" by that American public that buys my books about the American past, a subject of no demonstrable interest to Midge and Poddy and their friends.

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Italy

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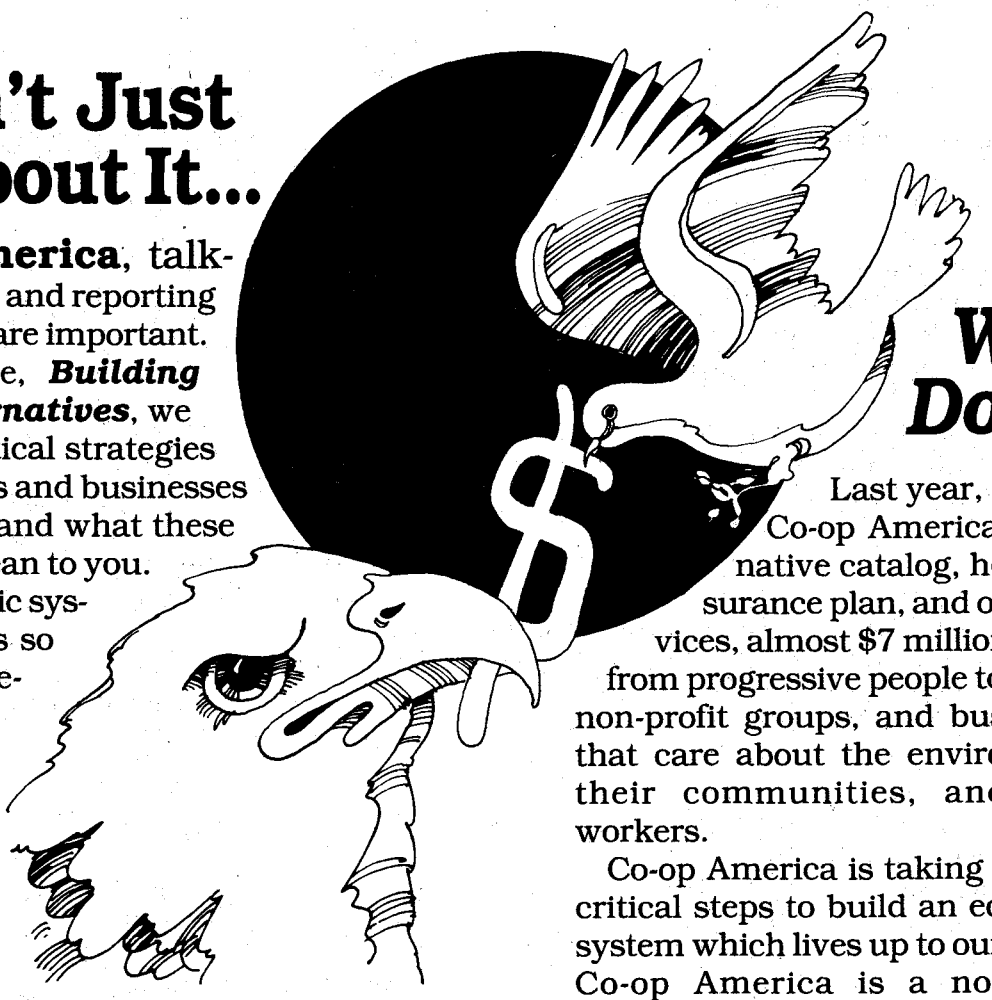

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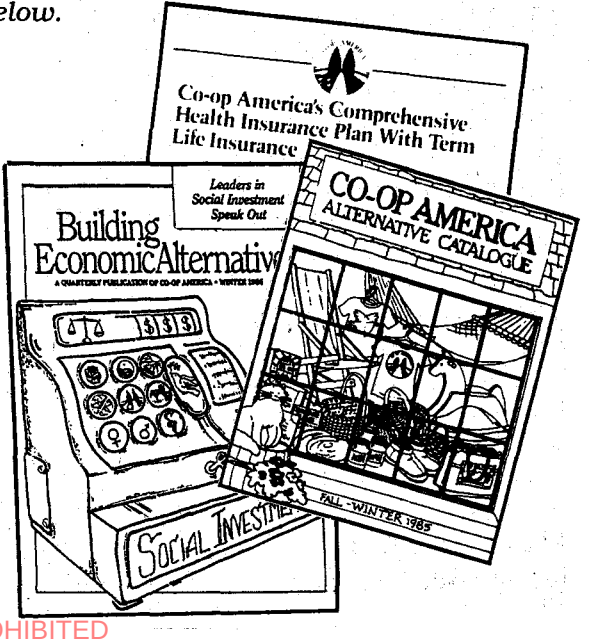
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Midge was amazed by my description of how we seized territories from Mexico, including California; annexed Hawaii and Puerto Rico and, of course,, the Philippines, where we slaughtered between 100,000 and 200,000 of the inhabitants. Interesting note: American imperialists froth if the figures for those murdered are ever in excess of 60,000 men, women and children, the acceptable statistical minimum for genocide. Then Midge, with that magisterial gooniness that marks her polemical style, told us, "that three of these conquered territories are now states of the United States, and a fourth an independent republic, is evidently beside the point—as, we cannot resist remarking. . . ."

Oh, Midge, resist. Resist! Don't you get the point? We stole other people's land. We murdered many of the inhabitants. We imposed our religion—and rule—on the survivors. General Grant was ashamed of what we did to Mexico, and so am I. Mark Twain was ashamed of what we did in the Philippines, and so am I. Midge is not because in the Middle East another predatory people is busy stealing other people's land in the name of an alien theocracy. She is a propagandist for these predators (paid for?), and that is what all this nonsense is about.

Since spades may not be called spades in freedom's land, let me spell it all out. In order to get military and economic support for Israel, a small number of American Jews, who should know better, have made common cause with every sort of reactionary and anti-Semitic group in the United States, from the corridors of the Pentagon to the TV studios of the evangelical Jesus-Christers. To show that their hearts are in the far-right place, they call themselves neoconservatives, and attack the likes of Mailer and me, all in the interest of supporting the likes of Sharon and Israel as opposed to the Peace Now Israelis whom they disdain. There is real madness here; mischief too.

"Well, one thing is clear in all this muddle," writes Midge, adrift in her tautological sea, "Mr. Vidal does not like his country." Poor Midge. Of course I like my country. After all, I'm its current biographer. But now that we're really leveling with each other, I've got to tell you I don't much like your country, which is Israel.

Although there is nothing wrong with being a lobbyist for a foreign power, one is supposed to register with the Justice Department. Also, I should think that tact would require a certain forbearance when it comes to the politics of the host country. But tact is unknown to the Podhoretzes. Joyously they revel in the politics of hate, with plangent attacks on blacks and/or fags and/or liberals, trying, always, to outdo those moral majoritarians who will, as Armageddon draws near, either convert all the Jews, just as the Good Book says, or kill them.

All in all, the latest Podhoretz diatribes have finally convinced me that the time has come for the United States to stop all aid not only to Israel but to Jordan, Egypt and the rest of the Arab world. The Middle Easterners would then be obliged to make peace, or blow one another up, or whatever. In any case, we would be well out of it. After all, the theological and territorial quarrels of Israel and Islam are as remote to 200 million Americans as—what else?—the War of the Roses. □

ISRAEL

Pending File: Deportation

Rachel Eytan is a leading Israeli novelist who lives in New York City. In response to our request for a comment on America she dipped into a work in progress. The scene that appears below is part of her forthcoming novel, A Band of Evil Angels. *Not only does the story add a fictional perspective; it touches on an implicit theme of this special issue: the need for a true internationalism that transcends the artificial boundaries of nation and ideology. The translation is by J.J. Goldberg.*

RACHEL EYTAN

There was a sign on the fifth floor: Discount Photography.

"Next!" cried the photographer. He nodded for her to sit in front of a gray backdrop. "Hats off, please! Look straight ahead! No blinking!" the photographer commanded her from behind the ancient-looking camera. "We're not responsible for blinking!"

A policeman appeared and led her to the elevator. They rode to the fourteenth floor. She followed him through a crowd of people sitting on folding chairs in a windowless chamber, to a cubicle with walls that were about as tall as she was. It contained a desk, a typewriter and two old chairs, the sort you find in a teachers' lounge.

"Question eight." The policeman smiled and closed the door on his way out.

"Eight?"

Sitting on the edge of the school chair, she absently brushed her lips with lipstick and listened to the sounds from the other side of the partition: a baby's cry; some rapid Spanish, though not the sort one hears on the street; some muffled sirens; the sounds of a fire engine rising from somewhere in the depths of the city.

The cubicle door opened, and a man of about 45 came in, tall and thick-waisted, like a retired athlete. A reasonably pleasant-looking man in a starched blue-green uniform that matched his eyes. Sitting down abruptly, he opened a file, flipped through the papers, put a carbon-paper sandwich in the typewriter, and began typing with two fingers.

"Miss Safranini, Alexandra, file number so-and-so, Pending Deportation."

"That's Safran."

The skin of the top half of his face was white and stretched like a monk's—the legacy, perhaps, of adolescent yearnings—but a reddish flab pressed up as far as the middle of his cheeks from his too-abundant neck.

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The smell of deodorant filled the cubicle.

He stared over her shoulder, as though waiting for a cue from a prompter, and then began to recite in a clipped, energetic voice: "In accordance with law so-and-so you have the right to refrain from answering and to be represented by a lawyer——"

"I'm sure I can speak for myself."

"Fine," he replied, in a voice that was studiedly cold and menacing. "Well, then, in your appeal to remain in the United States as a permanent resident you answered in item number eight that you were a member of the Communist Party of Israel during certain years. Is that information correct?"

"Yes."

"How long were you a member of the Communist Party?"

She could almost feel him stiffening every time he said the word, which he pronounced "commonist," as if he were asking her how long she had slept with horses.

"A year and a half."

He typed until the carriage bell rang. A diamond sparkled on his third finger, in a heavy setting.

"At the time of your membership, was the Communist Party a legal organization?"

"It was and it still is. Israel is a democratic country."

"Please answer yes or no."

"Yes."

He struck three keys, and looked up at her. "Why did you join the Communist Party?"

"For the same reasons anyone joins a political party."

"Did anyone threaten to fire you from your place of employment, to evict you from your home or to take away your food rations if you refused to join the Communist Party?"

"In Israel? Of course not."

"If so, then why did you join? Please be specific."

"Despite certain doubts, I joined at a time when I believed that most of my personal views were the same as theirs."

"When did you leave the Communist Party?"

"In 1956."

"What was the reason for your leaving?"

"After Khrushchev's speech at the Twentieth Party Congress, when it became clear that the crimes of Stalin were——"

"I'm sorry. Please be specific. Which congress?"

"It was the great historic watershed. Everyone knew about it."

"Please answer the question."

"The twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R."

"You mentioned a speech by someone. Who was that?"

"Nikita Khrushchev," she said, pronouncing it as she had learned it: "Khroosh-CHOFF."

"Please spell that."

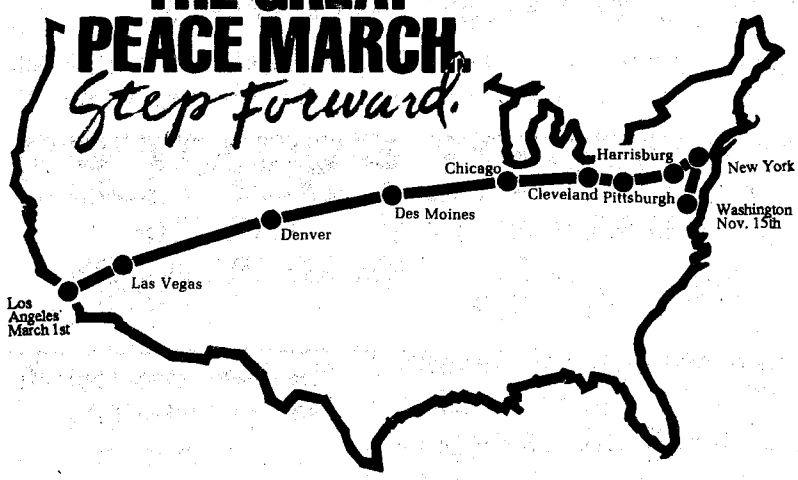
"I'm not sure of the English letters."

"It would be best if you try to remember."

She spelled out an approximation.

THE GREAT PEACE MARCH

Step Forward.



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"And that was the reason you left the Communist Party?"

"Well, after that, there was the uprising in Budapest."

"What were you doing in Budapest?"

"In Budapest?"

"You heard me."

"Sir, I wasn't in Budapest," she rasped through a tightening throat. "My resignation was an act of protest *over* Budapest."

"Protesting what, specifically?"

"Praxis was in contradiction to theory."

"Is that Communist terminology? Is that an expression Marxists use?"

"Marxists and others."

"Is that a Russian word?"

"Which word?"

"The one you said."

"I said a lot of words."

"Kindly answer the question. Please spell the first word you used, the one that began with *P*."

She spelled "praxis," and added, "It's originally Greek, if that's important." He pecked at the typewriter until it rang.

"Are you an expert in Marxism, ma'am?"

"No. No, I'm not an expert."

"Then where did you learn that expression?"

"It's an expression any high-school student knows."

"Did this high school teach Marxist propaganda?"

"Which high school?"

He studied his papers. "Were you required to listen to Marxist propaganda?"

"Where?"

"In this particular high school."

"I never went to any 'particular' high school."

"Well then where did you learn those expressions?"

"I don't know. Books, newspapers——"

"Please name one of the books."

"The Oxford Dictionary."

"Were you a member of a cell?" He was staring at her with laser eyes, probing her memory for all the plots, all the secret instructions from the Cheka, the N.K.V.D. and the K.G.B. that she had read and then swallowed; poking in her mind with a pointed stick like an attendant in the park of democracy.

"Of course I was."

"Did you pay dues?"

"Minimal. We were all so poor."

"Kindly answer yes or no."

In a swift motion he changed carbon sheafs for the third or fourth time. The odor of his deodorant-drenched body clung to her nostrils.

"Did you ever receive money from Moscow?"

"As a matter of fact, I don't even know what Russian money looks like."

"Perhaps in your own local currency?"

"Certainly not."

Why does the left remain isolated?

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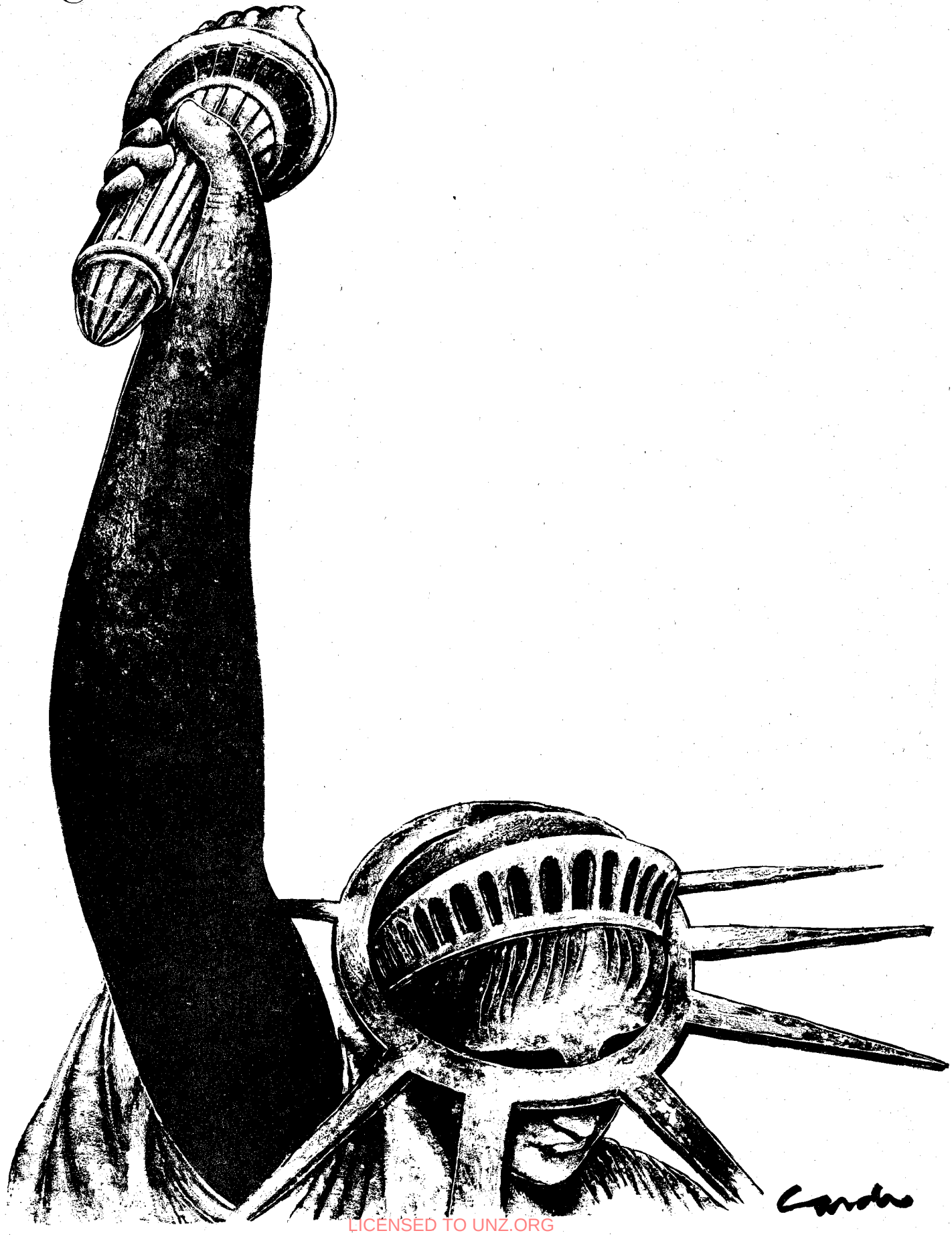

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"Did you ever hold an official position with the Communists, like secretary or treasurer?"

"No."

"Any other position?"

"I wrote for the weekly newsletter of the Israeli-Soviet Friendship League. It was interparty."

"A Communist league?"

"No. The movement's newsletter; it was founded back in the Second World War, the V League, to express the solidarity of the Hebrew settlement in Palestine with the U.S.S.R. in the war against Nazism."

He was pecking furiously at the typewriter.

"Which league did you say?"

"V. V for Victory. Like Churchill." She spelled "Churchill" before he could ask. "By the way, some say Lady Churchill was a member of the executive committee of the British-Soviet Friendship Society."

"Now, what do you mean by Hebrew settlement? Is that a derogatory term?"

"No."

"Was this movement legal?

"Of course it was legal. It was very popular in Israel, especially after Gromyko's U.N. speech in 1947."

"Please spell that." She did her best. "Now, was this newsletter legal?"

"The only time we ever had illegal newspapers was during the British mandate."

"Was that the only paper that bought your articles?"

"We didn't have this system of buying articles. Besides, I wasn't writing for money."

"Then where did you get money to live on?"

"We lived from day to day. We found odd jobs; for instance, feeding lions in the zoo."

"Did you write about politics?"

"No."

"Why not?"

"I wrote about literature, theater and music." He pecked away, then stopped for a moment and studied his papers.

"About dance too?"

"Sometimes."

"Did you ever consider American dances to be decadent?"

"I don't know exactly what a decadent dance is."

"What is your opinion of Russian music?"

"It's all right."

"Did you write articles, papers or books against the Communist Party after you resigned from it?"

"No."

"Why not?"

"I was busy. I had more interesting things to write about."

He typed and looked at the pile of papers to the left of the typewriter. "Did you suffer any persecution on account of your leaving the Communist Party?"

"From whom?"

"From the government, the administration, the secret police, your place of employment, all of the above, or other?"

"Where?"

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"In the country you're emigrating from."

"I don't understand the part about 'on account of your leaving.'"

"Please, just answer yes or no."

"No, of course not."

"What party would you vote for if you became a citizen of the United States?"

"I'll decide that once I figure out what's the difference between the parties."

"Do you believe in God?"

"Sometimes."

"When, for example?"

"Right now."

"Would you call yourself a free-thinker?"

"I hope so."

"What political system do you support?"

"The kind that doesn't limit freedom of thought or freedom of speech, that doesn't interrogate people or punish them for this sort of thing."

"As a former Communist, do you believe in private initiative?"

"I joined the party on my own private initiative, and I left on private initiative."

He kept typing until the carriage bell rang, tore out what he'd written, then collated the copies and handed her a batch.

"Please go over all this quickly. If it's correct, sign it at the bottom."

On the other side of the partition, a child began crying again, a piercing wail that aroused a yearning in her for her daughter in Israel.

As she passed her eyes over the forms, she heard him ask politely, "Are you sure you want to leave in the part about Stalin?"

"Why not?"

"You just might want to reconsider it."

"I mean, I could write a whole book about Stalin's crimes, but——"

"If you want to cross it out, just initial the part you're crossing out."

"But I don't want to cross it out!"

"Well then," he said, "we understand that you want to leave it in."

He moved around behind her and showed her where to sign, his heavy chin hanging over her. He handed her a pen. Her palm, she noted, was still blackened by the ink from the earlier fingerprinting.

"Before we go," she said suddenly, "may I ask you a question, just out of curiosity?"

"Is it essential?"

"Please."

He pushed the papers into his briefcase impatiently.

"I'm very busy. Be brief."

"Would you conduct such an inquiry for someone who had been a member of the National Socialist Party in Germany?"

"Socialists aren't on the list, ma'am."

"National Socialists."

"Ma'am," he said, opening the door, "that's something you'll have to ask your Congressman about. You can find his number in the phone book. Have a nice day." □

GREECE

Anti-Americanism: Causes and Cures

Like many of our contributors, Margaret Chant Papandreou combines two cultures, American and, in her case, Greek. The American-born wife of Pasok Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, she is president of a mass socialist feminist organization, Women's Union of Greece. She is the author of Nightmare in Athens, *a critique of U.S. policy in Greece prior to the dictatorship.*

MARGARET CHANT PAPANDREOU

One of the questions I am most frequently asked back in the States is, Why is Greece anti-American? The next two questions are, Will Greece get out of NATO? and Will you keep American bases? In feminist circles there are also queries about our progressive measures toward equality for women. I seldom get questions about socialism in Greece, although if I happen to mention that we have a socialist government, the listener turns pale. No one, however, seems to be interested in our conflicts with Turkey, the Cyprus problem or our peace initiatives.

The questions regarding Greece's intentions toward the North American Treaty Organization and the U.S. bases seem to reflect a keener awareness of national security issues in the States than existed during the years after World War II. But the one about anti-Americanism comes from the heart; people are pained and puzzled by it. Some time ago Administration officials talked about launching a public relations program to dispel anti-American attitudes in Europe, a truly naïve idea. There are substantial reasons for such attitudes and feelings, and unless those reasons are understood and responded to, no media campaign, no exchange-student program, no cultural or scientific collaboration, will change them.

Anti-Americanism does not mean hostility toward the American people. Nor does it signify dislike of American culture. Blue jeans, rock-and-roll, Big Macs, films and television serials are generally popular and are the United States' best and most powerful ambassadors. They are opposed nowadays, particularly by fundamentalist societies, as symbols of modernity, corruption and cultural intervention, but they are not in any way the cause of anti-American attitudes. Anti-Americanism is most prevalent in the underdeveloped and developing world (not, interestingly enough, in the Eastern bloc countries), where people feel that U.S. economic forces have exploited them, military forces have tried to control them and political forces have

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supported unpopular, undemocratic establishments.

The Philippines is the most recent example. Washington seems to have supported Ferdinand Marcos because it considered him the most reliable guarantor of the U.S. military bases there. Although intelligence reports must have indicated long ago the existence of the growing nationalist movement and the people's dissatisfaction with Marcos and his corrupt government, U.S. policy-makers seemed unable to decide on a course that would honor the Filipinos' right to determine their own destiny and that would dissociate the Administration from the dictator. As a result, public demonstrations during and after the elections bristled with signs and banners castigating the United States.

In Greece all the goodwill that the United States built up during the war, and immediately afterward with a massive aid program that put the economy back on its feet, was slowly dissipated as the nation became more and more dependent on the United States. Washington collaborated first with the Greek monarchy in deciding domestic political matters, then with the rightist government, in 1961, by recognizing fraudulent elections, and finally with the colonels, in 1967, by accepting and eventually strengthening their seven-year dictatorship.

Anti-Americanism reached its peak in 1974, when the dictatorship of the colonels fell; it has diminished considerably since then, as the Pasok government follows a pro-Greek independent foreign policy that is grudgingly accepted by the Reagan Administration. The Greeks watch what the United States does in the rest of the world and draw their own conclusions. During the dictatorial rule in Greece, when the United States was involved in the Vietnam War, a war which pitted a giant industrial military machine against a peasant society, even the colonels found it difficult to give open and enthusiastic support to the American side.

Central Intelligence Agency interventions overseas, support for "friendly" dictators, the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile, Watergate, the efforts to overthrow the Sandinista regime, the nuclear arms buildup—all have served to strengthen the image of the United States as an aggressive, ruthless and unethical nation. For Americans to understand anti-Americanism they must take off their cultural blinders and see their country as others see it. They must recognize that America's vast military and economic power does not give it the right to interfere in other nations' development or to frustrate their efforts to achieve independence. To the contrary, it antagonizes their people.

This does not mean that millions of people in the world would not want to live in America. The American way of life, insofar as it applies to those who live in America, continues to be envied. America still stands for opportunity and individual freedom. It means diversity, natural beauty, creativity, dynamism, vitality. But that is not the point, though it may be why Americans are distressed and puzzled about anti-Americanism. They are so convinced that their society is unique, just and good—and this is a conviction that permeates the consciousness of many who grow up in the United States—that they fail to understand criticism of their government's international actions.

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The way to fight anti-Americanism is with an enlightened policy of international relations that would seek to break down the global war system and establish a permanent peace; that would avoid intervention in the affairs of other nations but provide moral support to popular democratic forces; and that would rein in the military industrial complex, which affects so many things—the trade balance, the direction of industrial growth, the choice of technology, the rate at which natural resources are extracted, the status of women, even the culture, values and aspirations of people.

These are not unrealistic proposals. One could make the case that they advance "national security interests." They are unworkable only in that there may not be the kind of leadership in Washington that wants to pursue them or that the vested interests opposing them are too deeply entrenched. But given the situation today—a world economic crisis, social unrest and turmoil, and an arms race that is driving the world toward oblivion—these are the only realistic policies. They will make it possible for the world to see the United States with new eyes. □

YUGOSLAVIA

American Pie Is Still in the Sky

Yugoslav writer Slavenka Drakulich was referred to us by Katha Pollitt, who met her while visiting Zagreb on a Fulbright Fellowship. Drakulich writes for the Yugoslav magazines Start *and* NIN *and is the author of* Mortal Sins of *Feminism, the first book on feminism to be published in her country.*

SLAVENKA DRAKULICH

"I like Russian shit better than American pie," says Vladimir Petrovich, a character in the 1985 Yugoslav film *When Father Was Away on Business*. The movie is set at the time of the country's split with the Soviet Union, and Petrovich is "disappeared" for his pro-Soviet remarks.

When Father Was Away on Business won a Golden Palm award at the Cannes Film Festival, so you may have heard of it. It takes a major news event—a prizewinning film or the winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo or the miracle of the cheap Yugo car or the recent extradition of alleged Nazi war criminal Andrija Artukovic—for Yugoslavia to be heard of in the United States. When I visit America from time to time and talk to so-called ordinary people, I feel relieved if someone doesn't call my country Yugoslovakia. Of course, I have also heard things like "Tolstoyevsky" (a strange copulation of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky), so the mispronunciation isn't so bad, after all.

The American public perceives Yugoslavia as a small, obscure country, Communist and yet not a part of the

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INDEPENDENT VOICES, EAST AND WEST, SPEAK OUT AGAINST REAGAN'S NICARAGUA POLICY

As opponents of the Cold War East and West we protest the Reagan Administration's escalating war on Nicaragua. The nature of the Nicaraguan regime is not the issue. We defend the democratic right of every nation to self-determination in complete freedom from superpower control, whether that domination is justified by the Brezhnev doctrine in Eastern Europe and Afghanistan, or by Reagan's claims of U.S. special interests in Central America and the Caribbean. The application of force against weaker nations blocks democratic social and political change, tightens the superpowers' grip on their respective blocs and spheres of influence, and fuels the arms race with catastrophic consequences for all of us.

To escape from the current global impasse we must find a Third Way in which democratic activists and movements from around the world make common cause to build an alternative to both blocs. We are raising our voices in unison against this ominous heightening of the Cold War, and demand an immediate end to the United States' growing intervention in Nicaragua. We challenge the U.S. to set an example of non-interventionism, and we ask the Soviet Union to do the same in Eastern Europe and Afghanistan.

The above statement opposing the Reagan Administration's policy on Nicaragua has been signed by leading peace, labor, social justice, religious and cultural figures from the United States, Western Europe and the Third World. For the first time they are joined in their opposition to U.S. interventionism by a large number of activists and writers from the Eastern bloc, many of whom have been persecuted in their own countries for work in independent peace and human rights movements.

Statement circulated by the Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West and *Across Frontiers Magazine*

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USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE

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Journalist; served prison term for civil rights activities
Jiri Hajek
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Lubos Kohout
Former Prof., now works as laborer
Vaclav Maly
Cath. priest banned by State from exercising pastoral duties
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Former univ. lecturer; formerly on Communist Party Central Comm., imprisoned 8 years for civil rights work
Anna Sabatova
Activist; served 2½ years in prison
Zdena Tomin
Exiled novelist
Petr Uhl
Teacher, now a stoker; 9 years in prison

EAST GERMANY

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Women for Peace
Werner Fischer
Independent peace activist
Ralf Hirsch
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Roland Jahn
Independent peace activist; forcibly expelled in 1982
Gerd Poppe
Independent peace activist
Ulrike Poppe
Women for Peace
Lutz Rathenow
Author & playwright; imprisoned for publishing a book abroad
Rudiger Rosenthal
Independent peace activist

HUNGARY

Gabor Demszky
Founder, "AB" samizdat publishers
Istvan Eorsi
Writer, poet and playwright
Gyorgy Konrad
Novelist and essayist
Gyorgy Petri
Poet
Laszlo Rajk
Samizdat publisher; son of L. Rajk, former Communist minister executed in show trial

POLAND

Jacek Czaputowicz
Polish independent peace movement "Wolnosc i Pokoj" ("Freedom and Peace")
Jan Jozef Lipski
Solidarnosc activist; member of K.O.R. (Workers Defense Committee); imprisoned under martial law

USSR

Sergei & Natasha Batovrin
Founding members, independent Soviet peace movement; now in NYC
Marya & Vladimir Fleishgakker
Founding members, independent Soviet peace movement, now in NYC
Lev Kopelev
Writer; living in W. Germany

YUGOSLAVIA

Kosta Cavoski
Professor, Belgrade
Dobrica Cosik
Chair, Belgrade Comm. for Defense of Freedom of Thought & Public Expression
Mihailo Markovic
Professor, member, Belgrade Comm. for Def. of Freedom of Thought & Pub. Exp.; Ed., *Praxis International*
Milan Nikolic
Sociologist; tried for paper written at Brandeis U.

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Chilean author
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Testimonianze, Italy
Wim Bartels
Int'l Sec., Dutch Interchurch Peace Council (I.K.V.)
Simone de Beauvoir
Ariel Dorfman
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Mient-Jan Faber
Gen. Sec., Dutch I.K.V.
Carlos Fuentes
Mexican author
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Eastern bloc ("Can you really get out whenever you want?"). They see it superficially and indifferently, but they see it most of all as exotic. As the poet Brana Crncević would say, "My country is small, and I feel sorry for it." Certainly Yugoslavia is not the only country in that position relative to the United States towards which public attention is channeled according to political interest.

I am a member of the postwar generation in my country that has witnessed the image of America become something real and material; I have seen it undergo a change from a mythic, abstract name, a dark label, a word with the child's definition of utopia—"coming from nowhere"—to become a part of everyday life, through music, politics, food, danger, protest, poverty and, yes, longing.

I see a picture of two little girls standing on a wall somewhere on the coast, holding each other's hands tightly while the photographer (where did they ever find one?) does his job. Nothing special, except that this photograph was taken in Yugoslavia thirty-five years ago, not long after the war, when there hadn't even been time to properly bury the 1.6 million dead. The thing that strikes me today about those little girls in the photo—I was one of them, of course— is that they are so well dressed. They are wearing identical fashionable dresses, with ribbons and *volants*, gathered waists and puffed sleeves. I can remember clearly the pattern of the little pale gray squares with yellow stripes and the soft feeling of piqué. It seems so right for little girls to be dressed like that. Yet in 1951 there was no place in my entire burned and ravaged country you could buy such a pretty dress or the material to make one—not to mention a sewing machine. So where did the dress come from? It came from America.

I heard the name for the first time from my mother, feeling as though I could almost touch that big *A*. Father never said a word about the United States; he was not supposed to. He was an army officer, a partisan in the war. From time to time a package would arrive addressed to us, containing unusual and extravagant things, useless things I should say, sent by relatives who had emigrated in the early 1930s and could not understand that we needed things other than dresses, perfume, soap, lingerie.

What we needed was food. The first concrete thing I associated with America was margarine. I remember the big gold and silver cans with their black labels reading "UNRRA" which we would receive once a month. And the yellow, almost orange, cheddar cheese from which my mother would cut chunks with a big kitchen knife. My brother and I would eat every last crumb off the wood table. There was also thick, creamy condensed milk, which we used to put on our palms and slowly lick off. It stuck to our teeth, but what a sweet taste! The margarine was a real problem; I could not swallow it, even though my mother insisted that it was good for me because I had rickets. It looked like the butter our milk lady brought sometimes from the mountains near our home, but it tasted so different, so strange—dare I say artificial?

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In school I learned first to sing about America, then to find it on a map. At the age of 7 or 8, with UNRRA gone from my life, in our carefully designed ideological education, we learned all kinds of patriotic war songs and partisan marches, which we usually performed in honor of an annual party congress or a national holiday. One of the songs in those programs was called "America and England Will Be Proletarian Countries," and we sang it with intense devotion, as though we were casting a spell. Of those three words—"America," "England," "proletarian"—the last was the most important. We had learned very early that we were proletarians, because we had nothing to lose. People who were not proletarians were to be despised, but they would soon be like us; it was only a matter of time.

Even with those strong convictions, and at such an early age, I must confess that I had some ideological problems, or should I say inner confrontations. Clearly, capitalist countries had advantages that you couldn't deny; you could see, touch or eat them. My friend's father was working "there," and when we children went to her house for birthday parties, we would be given Nestlé chocolates wrapped in red paper (which I pressed in a book), hot cocoa or even chewing gum. But all these luxuries I could ignore because I was old enough to "understand"—though not without feeling a little envious.

The thing that nobody, not even a conscientious Pioneer member like me, could ignore was the doll my friend received in a package from her father (packages, packages!). She would take it out to show the rest of us, as a special gift of friendship. The doll was the most perfect and beautiful thing I had ever seen. It was not big—only about ten inches tall—thin, with long blond hair you could comb, blue eyes that opened, long lashes, a red mouth (had I seen lipstick yet?), tiny fingers with shiny nails, and such an elaborate wardrobe, with little plastic high-heeled shoes and panties. My friend would dress and undress her, walk her and comb her hair as we all watched with hungry eyes. It is not that I had no doll of my own, but mine was—how to describe it?—big, rubbery, fat, ugly, with a large head and no hair. You could kick it again and again, and it would never break.

Her doll was a woman.

The new wave of American influence came with rock music, blue jeans and Coca-Cola. It became a matter of prestige to have those things. Actually, long before Coca-Cola became fashionable, we had a drink called Cockta. Whatever happened to it? Why did we switch to Coke?

Part of the answer could be seen in the recent heated debate in our newspapers over whether McDonald's should be allowed to open restaurants in Yugoslavia. The arguments in favor are that McDonald's sells standardized, clean fast food all over the world and that that is what we need to civilize our traditional, unhealthy eating habits—to correct our "primitive way of life," I should say. The arguments against are that we already have fast food, good old Turkish *pljeskavica* and *chevapi*, so why in the world would we need plastic, tasteless, industrial American prod-

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ucts? McDonald's conveys the image of progress away from *pljeskavica*. Adopting American food seems the only way to escape 400 years of the Turks sitting on the Balkans.

The breathless rush to "progress" has its pathetic aspects. A friend of mine, a born New Yorker and a broad-minded, intelligent, sensitive and well-educated person, visited my country last autumn. In Zagreb she wanted to see our Cannes prizewinning movie, or at least some Yugoslav movie, just to get an idea of what they are like. As it happened, all that was playing were *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*, the latest James Bond, *The Woman in Red* and *Frances*. She could not understand, and I could not explain it well enough, because the word "commercial" just doesn't describe the network of ideology, culture and power games that determines what we see. The fact that everyone in Yugoslavia watches *Dynasty* on television and that public demand forced the programming authorities to buy more episodes after the first thirty had been shown indicates that we care for Krystle's tears. We care too much.

Living under the "protective measures" of the International Monetary Fund is not easy for Yugoslavia. Inflation has been over 250 percent in the past three years; the unemployment rate exceeds 13 percent, one of the highest in Europe; and the national debt has reached $20 billion. In a survey conducted by the University of Split last year, a large number of young people aged 14 through 18 were asked, "If you didn't live in Yugoslavia, where would you like to live?" America was by far the first choice. That finding was not widely publicized in our press. Is it fear? Is it hate?

America is becoming more and more distant and unreachable, mythic again, and it is definitely not a proletarian country as we so eagerly predicted thirty-five years ago. Yet we have a strange, ambivalent feeling of unfulfilled love for it, a longing that you can breathe in the air when you walk in the streets of our big cities. Our choice is not between Russian shit and American pie anymore. But what we are getting from America is not exactly the pie, and everyone is aware of that. □

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The Fascist Boot In Minnesota

Yevgeny Yevtushenko has visited the United States, where he is the best-known contemporary Russian poet. The film Kindergarten, *which he wrote and directed, was shown in New York City last month. Yevtushenko, who lives in Moscow, is also a novelist and photographer. When he visited this country recently and we told him about the theme of this issue, he responded with the following fragment from his recent prose poem "Fuku," which was published in the Soviet literary journal* Novy Mir *last September. Translation by Antonina W. Bouis.*

YEVGENY YEVTUSHENKO

In 1972 in St. Paul, Minnesota, I read my poetry to American students in an indoor stadium, standing in a boxing ring from which the poles and ropes had been thoughtfully removed. Suddenly I saw young people—about ten of them—running toward the ring. I thought that they wanted to congratulate me, shake my hand, and I stepped over to the edge of the ring. Only at the last moment did I notice that their faces were not at all congratulatory, but hard, businesslike, and they weren't carrying flowers. A multivoiced "Ah!" rang through the audience, for they could see what I couldn't: a few more young people had jumped up into the ring and were running up behind me. A sharp push in the back knocked me down, right under the feet of the "congratulators." It was all worked out in timing and efficiency. They began kicking me with lightning speed and accuracy. The only thing I remember is the treaded sole of a hiking boot with a strawberry chewing-gum wrapper stuck to it, which rhythmically struck my ribs like a hammer and which seemed gigantic to me at the time. And also: through the flicker of feet kicking me in the gut I saw the feverish flashes of a young female photojournalist, who had fallen to one knee and was photographing my beating as efficiently as I was being beaten. My friend and translator Albert Todd rushed over to me and shielded me with his body. The actor Barry Boys grabbed the microphone stand and used it like a cudgel, accidentally

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knocking out the tooth of an innocent policeman. The audience sprang into action against the attackers, who even when restrained went on convulsively kicking the air, as if trying to finish me off. The attackers turned out to be U.S.- and Canadian-born children of people who had collaborated with Hitler; it was as though fascism, which had not reached my hometown, Zima Junction, during the war, were now trying to get me in America. Reeling, I got up into the ring and read for another hour or so. I did not feel any pain, strangely enough. At the reception afterward, the young photojournalist came up to me. Like snakes, the straps of her Nikon and Hasselblad were entwined around her whittled, swanlike neck.

"Tomorrow my pictures will be seen all over America," she said consolingly, and at the same time proudly.

Perhaps, as a professional, she was right, but for some reason I didn't want to talk to her. The professional instinct in her was stronger than the human instinct—to help. And suddenly I felt a terrible pain in a lower rib, so strong it wracked my body.

"There's no break," the doctor said, examining an X-ray made in the nearest emergency room. "There is a fracture—I think they hit an old fracture. Were you ever in a car accident or some other incident?"

And it came back to me. Instead of the treaded sole of the hiking boot with the strawberry gum wrapper, I saw above me, also rising and falling on my ribs, the heel of a speculator's boot with a shiny metal half-moon cleat from when I was beaten in a marketplace in 1941. I told the story to the doctor and saw something resembling a tear in his unsentimental eyes.

"Unfortunately, we don't know very much in America about what your people and your children lived through during the war," the doctor said. "But I saw what you told me as vividly as in a movie—why don't you make a film about your childhood?"

That's how the film *Kindergarten* began in me—from a kick on an old fracture.

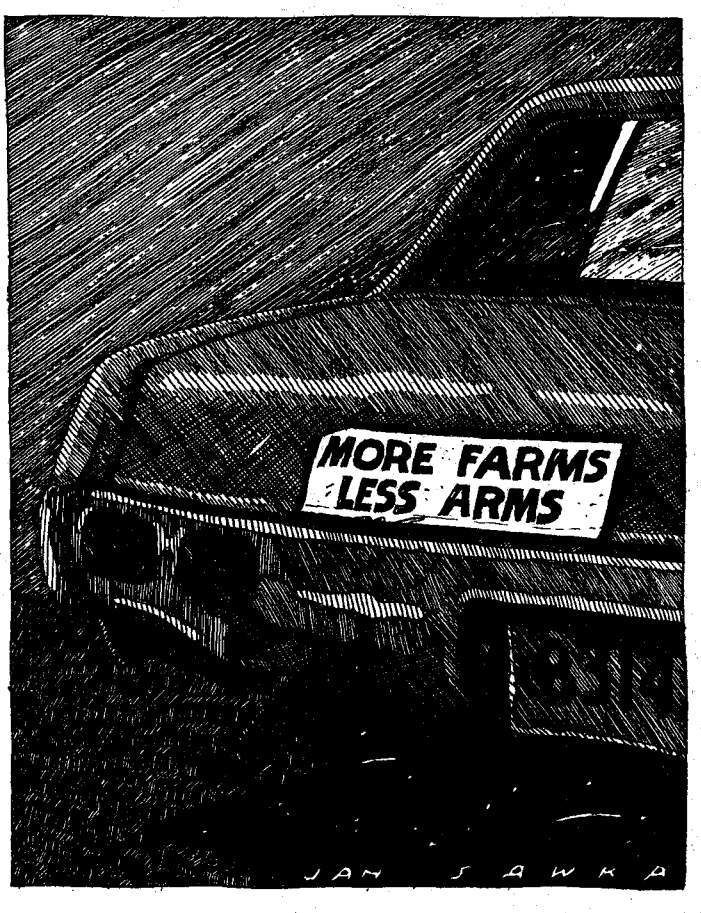
They're hitting an old fracture
they're hitting me—
a kid
they're hitting me—
a young man,
they're hitting me,
almost gray,
declaring war on me.

Fascists, speculators
hit
all the living and the young,
with their giant boots
trying to kick
talent
in the gut.
They're hitting an old fracture
butchers
and bakers.
They're hitting not only past
they're hitting
the future.
The Black Hundreds are everywhere.
They dream of an atomic pogrom,
like an anti-Semitic pogrom,
with nuclear axes.
Under their feet are the children.
In them, they instill fear
and terror on the planet
and terror in the skies.
They're hitting ideas,
countries,
trampling nations into dust,
hitting so many old wounds
of the tortured earth.

But in any pogrom,
free of blackjack or knife,
out of all my fractures
I'll create unbreakability.
It's all right that I'm spending so much time
fighting the Black Hundreds.
I haven't broken. . . .
I won't break
from a fractured rib! □

Poland

JAN SAWKA



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IRAN

U.S. Policy: Views Of a Victim

Abolhassan Bani-Sadr was a supporter of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and a prominent figure in the early days of the Iranian revolution. On January 25, 1980, he was elected the first President of the Islamic Republic by 75 percent of the popular vote. He came under increasing fire from fundamentalist clerics, who regarded him as too Western and secularist. On June 10, 1981, he was removed as commander in chief by Khomeini and fled the country. He now lives in Paris, where he has been active in anti-Khomeini groups seeking a democratic Iran. Nation *contributor Mansour Farhang, who served as Iranian ambassador to the United Nations until his resignation in May 1980, acted as editorial intermediary on this article.*

ABOLHASSAN BANI-SADR

A quarter-century of struggle against American imperialism, including my experiences during the Iranian revolution and my knowledge of the role the United States played in the transformation of the revolutionary regime to a dictatorship under Ayatollah Khomeini, qualifies me to comment on the evolution of American policy toward the Third World. I will cite my main observations in chronological order.

At the beginning of the "hostage crisis" at the U.S. Embassy in Teheran, in 1979, I was perhaps the first person to raise the question of the effect the hostage-taking would have on U.S. Presidential politics. Specifically, I warned that it would result in a victory for Ronald Reagan in 1980, followed by Reaganism's domination of U.S. and Western public opinion. I told my colleagues that Iran should not accept such a responsibility before humanity.

My concern derived from personal experience. I had learned that the United States cared little about what form the new regime took in Iran; stability was its number-one priority. In 1979, before the revolution, a high-ranking Central Intelligence Agency official sought me out in Paris, on the pretext that he had a message for Khomeini. When we met, he offered me a consultant position with an American firm. I then realized that an essential element of U.S. policy was to bribe and corrupt Third World elites, to make their regimes beholden to Washington. In my case the agent did not succeed.

In my later researches on U.S. policy in Iran, I had occasion to study the U.S. secret documents that were seized at the embassy in Teheran. Some of my findings appeared in an article in the October–December 1984 issue of *Mediterranean People's Review.* I observed that Washington had decided that the best way to insure a stable regime in Iran was to support a coalition of the mul-

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To all people and organizations working for peace, social justice, the environment, civil, welfare and human rights and a better America: The time has come to answer the scoundrels and Tories who wrap themselves in the American flag while they go about the dirty business of destroying our nation and our people!

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Five and half years of rule by the Reaganites and the New Right have brought our nation to a state of financial, economic and moral crisis. Our cities have become graveyards of smokestack industries. Millions of permanently unemployed, homeless and hungry are ignored. While the rich become richer and the poor poorer, millions of middle-class Americans fall into poverty. Social Security, public education, health and other social programs are robbed to feed the voracious Pentagon monster in pursuit of an arms race which threatens us and the world with disastrous consequences.

Yet today there is no effective organized political opposition to the Reaganites and the New Right. All too many of the putative "opposition" have caved in to the reactionary and destructive policies of the Administration.

That is why we call on all individuals and organizations working for peace, social justice, the environment and for a better America, to join in a political crusade to restore the democratic ideals of the American Revolution and to reclaim our nation from the misanthropes, bigots and Mammon-worshippers.

Our objective is not a new political party, but a non-partisan political movement based on the restoration of the ideals and aspirations of the American Revolution. Such a movement will intervene at every level in the electoral process with candidates committed to the cause of peace, social justice, protection of the environment and preservation and expansion of social legislation.

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Iran

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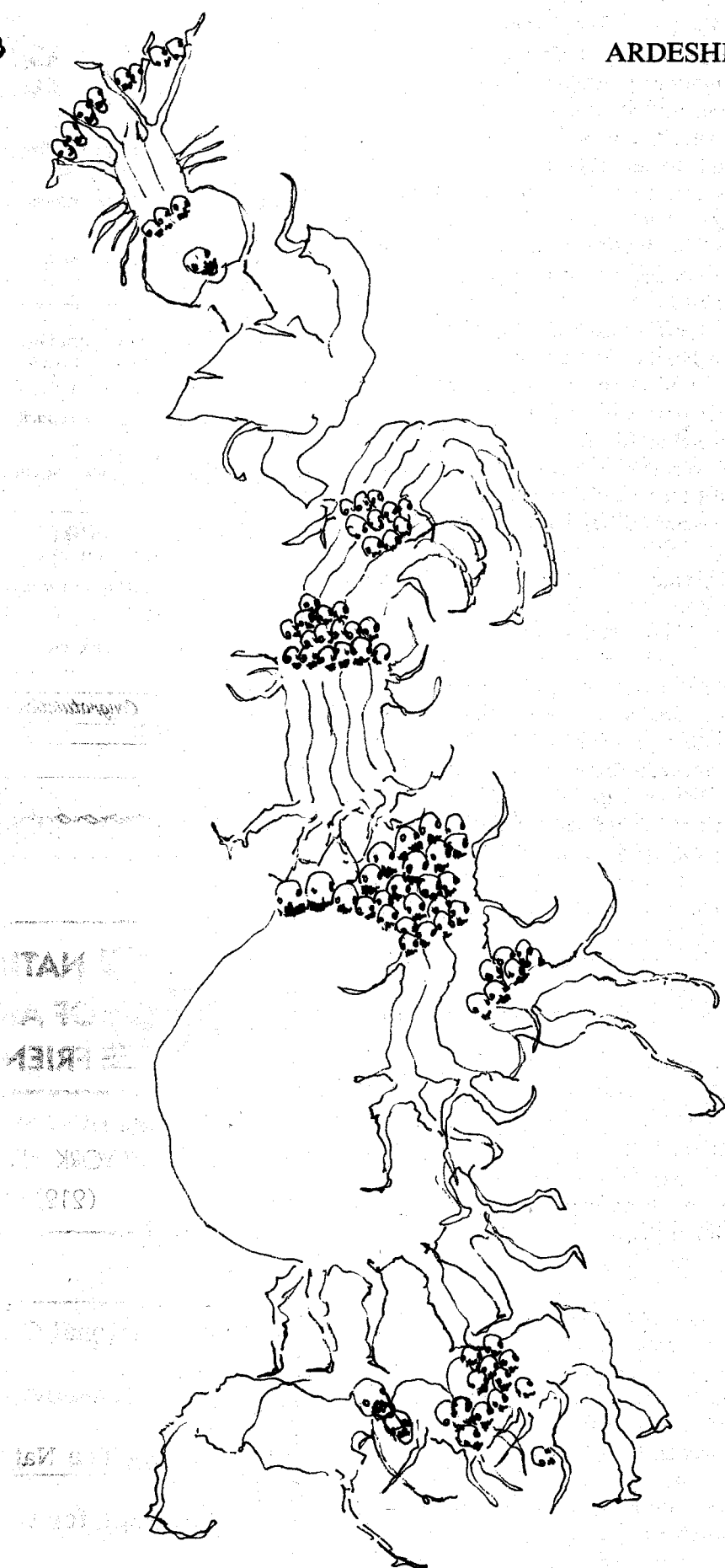

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lahs and the military. The United States seemed to have concluded, based on its experience with the Shah and its observations of events in Afghanistan, Ethiopia and other Islamic countries, that governments based on military power alone were unstable and vulnerable to popular unrest. But a union of popular groups and the military could bring to power stable governments whose behavior could be compatible with American strategic objectives. The Carter Administration was warned that the admission of the Shah to the United States would produce a confrontation in the two countries which could greatly benefit the extremist elements in Iran. Yet President Carter ignored this warning and precipitated the fall of Premier Mehdi Bazargan.

Then came the seizure of the embassy and my election to the presidency. The democratic government made a valiant effort against the emerging forces of dictatorship inside Iran, while attempting to defend the country's independence in the face of Western economic sanctions and Iraqi belligerence. But the 1981 coup d'état that overthrew my administration completed the consolidation of power by the theocratic elements. The advent of the theocracy brought serious instability to Iran and the Persian Gulf region, a situation that the United States had, inadvertently or otherwise, helped create.

Now political realities have compelled Washington to reconsider its longstanding view that democracy is an obstacle to political stability in Third World countries. That change, which began under Jimmy Carter and was impeded for a time by the election of Ronald Reagan, is again becoming apparent. Although the United States installed proxies in Guatemala and Grenada, subsequent events indicate that President Reagan's policy of defending oppressive regimes has come undone. Jean-Claude Duvalier and Ferdinand Marcos made their forced departures from their countries aboard U.S. Air Force jets; previously American planes brought in dictators to take power in the Third World, as when the United States flew the exiled Shah from Rome to Teheran in 1953.

This change confirms my belief that Reaganism was a symptom of a crisis in U.S. policy rather than a solution to it, and was therefore doomed from the outset. Reagan's treatment of the anti-Marcos forces in the Philippines portrays a different man from the one who did not deem the Third World worthy of democracy, who regarded support for authoritarian regimes as part of his mandate. What brought about this change? There are two main factors:

§ The Iranian revolution has had a profound effect on Western public opinion. Both the Shah's and Khomeini's regimes have dramatized the enmity of dictatorial regimes to progress and democracy. The revolution was the culmination of Iran's unrelenting struggle for freedom, which began at the end of World War II. My administration's resistance to Khomeinism demonstrated to the world that two philosophies are at war in Iran. It was both our good luck and misfortune to be in the vanguard of the fight against oppression. Although American policy was not solely to blame for the temporary and ostensible success of the mullah dic-

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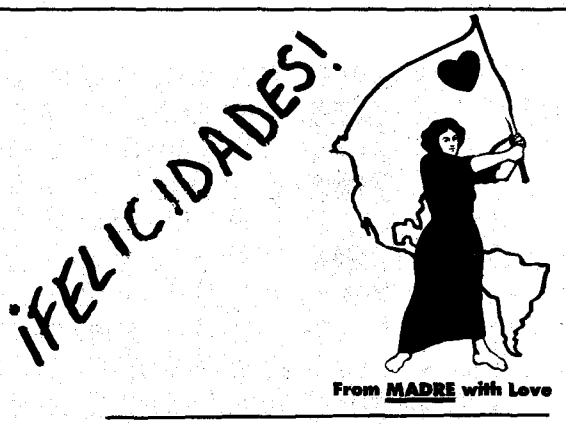

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tatorship that expelled us, it certainly contributed to the climate that brought Khomeini's regime to power. There were also benefits in our primacy, however. Thanks to the success of the revolution and Iran's brief experience with freedom, public opinion even in the West swung behind the idea that democracy is a necessary condition for political stability everywhere.

§ The West seems to have recognized that the economic health of the Third World is essential to its own well-being. But how can Third World countries achieve economic development if they are deprived of democracy? The notion that a solution to the world economic crisis, which has shaken both the capitalist and Communist blocs, is directly bound up in the development of the backward nations of the Southern Hemisphere has been strengthened by historical events like the Iranian revolution, the Afghan resistance to Soviet occupation and the Communist puppet regime, the bloody uprising in South Yemen and the fall of military dictatorships in Latin America.

When Iranians see the positive impact their revolution has had on Western public opinion and perhaps even on the U.S. attitude toward Third World dictators, they feel a deep sense of satisfaction and pride. The age of dictatorship is passing into history, and the dawn of a new era is at hand, heralded by the revolution in Iran. Because we were the first, we paid—and are still paying—a heavy price. Yet we have earned the right to say confidently that the days of tyranny in our homeland are numbered. □

PAKISTAN

Why Strongmen Make Bad Allies

Benazir Bhutto is acting chair of the opposition Pakistan People's Party. The daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was overthrown as Pakistan's leader by Gen. Zia ul-Haq in 1977 and later executed, she continues to work for the restoration of democracy in her country. She expressed forcefully and eloquently some of the themes in her article during a visit to The Nation*'s offices. When she went home last year, she was placed under house arrest. She now lives in London but plans to return to Pakistan this month.*

BENAZIR BHUTTO

The recent events in the Philippines brought home to policy-makers in Washington and elsewhere the dangers inherent in the pursuit of strategic planning without proper recognition of the political realities of the countries and regions that are expected to play a key role in that planning. Although for a number of years U.S. policy-makers had clear warning signs of the coming political storm in the Philippines, they ignored them until the situation threatened both internal peace in that

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country and America's strategic interests in the Pacific. As a result, President Reagan was compelled to recall from retirement Philip Habib, an experienced trouble-shooter whose last assignment was to dampen the flames of civil war in Lebanon.

The myopic view of American interests worldwide was demonstrated by former U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick when she propounded the thesis that pro-Western authoritarian regimes were preferable to anti-Western totalitarian regimes. In pursuit of that policy, Kirkpatrick set up in the United Nations a system to monitor the voting pattern of member states and link it to their relationship with the United States. The flaws in this thesis clearly emerged in the Philippines and Haiti. Both Ferdinand Marcos and Jean-Claude Duvalier became political liabilities.

A close look at the strategic allies acquired by Washington in various parts of the world reveals that the Philippines is by no means the only U.S. ally which subordinates justice and political wisdom to transient strategic advantage. Washington also supports the unpopular and repressive regime in Pakistan headed by Gen. Zia ul-Haq. The so-called referendum held under martial law in December 1984, wherein Zia coupled his own "election" as President for a five-year term with the adoption of his "Islamization program" made a mockery of both democracy and Islam. Foreign reporters and other observers testified that no more than 30 percent of the electorate voted. The military regime in Islamabad, however, claimed that twice as many had voted and had overwhelmingly supported General Zia. The polling was conducted with many of the opposition leaders and party workers behind bars; any criticism of the Islamization program or of General Zia was punishable by imprisonment. Early last year a "partyless" election to national and provincial legislatures was held in which even the use of loudspeakers at public meetings was limited.

This political sham was carried out to legitimize Zia's regime and give it a new lease on life. The general then put through the National Assembly a controversial law which granted "indemnity" to his military regime and modified the 1973 Constitution to give the President authoritarian powers. Since becoming a "civilian" President, General Zia has refused to give up the post of Army Chief of Staff, the key to his political power.

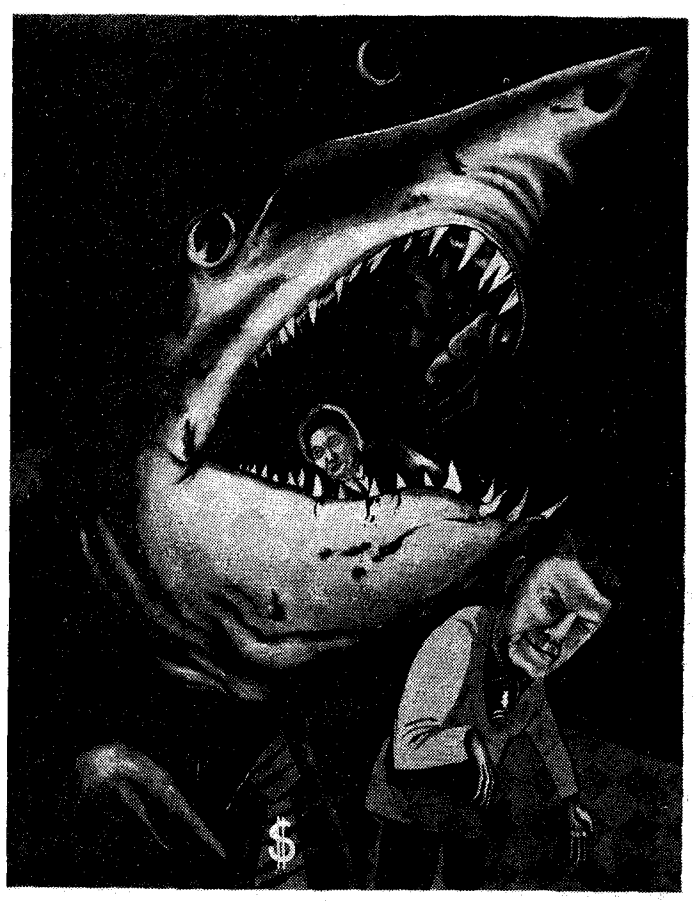
In November 1979, when a mob of pro-Zia zealots of the Jamat-i-Islami sect set fire to the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, few would have thought that only weeks later Zia would become an important strategic ally of the United States in South Asia and the oil-rich Persian Gulf region. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 suddenly elevated his political standing in the eyes of the Western world. The public flogging of political opponents and dissident journalists and the torture practiced by the military regime were overlooked as Pakistan was adopted as a "front-line state" against the Soviet designs in the region.

The political fragility of this front-line state has been demonstrated by Zia's recent efforts to thwart the political process in Pakistan. He has instituted an unconstitutional and undemocratic system to register political parties. The way Zia is exploiting religion for his political ends is reminiscent of the political voodoo that flourished in Haiti under the regimes of Papa Doc and his son. The regime has even acquired a Pakistani version of the Tontons Macoutes, well-armed fundamentalist groups and Afghan guerrillas now in exile in Pakistan who have been terrorizing opposition parties. As a result of their activities and the bomb blasts perpetrated in Peshawar Province and other places by Afghan agents, public sympathy for the nearly 3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan is dissipating. Students have been demonstrating in Peshawar against the presence of large numbers of Afghan refugees, many of them armed. The political returns from Zia's efforts to exploit Afghanistan and Islam have diminished dramatically in recent months. The people of Pakistan continue to aspire to democracy and federalism. There is a nationwide consensus against the political, economic and regional polarization that Zia's policies have created.

What is the United States to do in these circumstances? Some friends of Pakistan in Washington and other Western capitals wonder if a popularly elected government in Pakistan would be stable. But political stability provided by undemocratic regimes like that of General Zia is illusory. Dependence on these regimes imperils the long-term interests of the United States and the West in South Asia and elsewhere in the Third World. Only a democratic govern-

Britain

SUE COE



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JUDGEMENT DAY, 1986.

"One day Jesus is going to come and strike down all the Supreme Court rulings in one fell swoop." –Rev. Jerry Falwell

Imagine if the Far Right had veto power over America's judges. They do. The right-wing TV preachers, the Far Right Senators, the zealots in the Administration — this unholy alliance has begun a dangerous new crusade.

It's a crusade to pack the federal judiciary with judges who share the Far Right's narrow, extremist ideology.

They have plenty of opportunities.

On the Supreme court, five of the nine justices are over the age of 75. And by the end of his term, President Reagan is expected to appoint over half of all other federal judges — more than any President in history.

The White House already dropped one judicial nominee for having once made a small contribution to Planned Parenthood. Another was torpedoed as "unreliable" by the former top aide to the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

Still another faced a 23-part questionnaire from three Far Right Senators, demanding to know everything from his views on laws based on a Supreme Being to every political contribution he'd made in the last 10 years.

This not only violates the Constitutional ban against religious tests for public office. It also violates the American right to a fair, impartial trial.

Rather than letting a judge decide cases after the facts have been presented, the Far Right wants to know beforehand that a judge will decide cases their way.

Their way includes: Giving tax breaks to segregated schools. Wiping out women's rights. Gutting environmental laws. Allowing states to establish their own official religions.

This dangerous new crusade is co-ordinated by an outfit called the Center for Judicial Studies. Funded by the Moral Majority. Endorsed by the John Birch Society. Served by key right-wing Senators.

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Reverend Jerry Falwell
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ment in Pakistan can promote stability without tyranny in the country.

If Pakistan and Iran had not been unstable when the internal political strife erupted in Atghanistan in 1979, the Soviet Union might not have intervened. To secure the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan now, it is imperative to create conditions within and around Afghanistan conducive to that objective. A democratic Pakistan could insure that Afghanistan adopts a nonaligned stance in its relations with the neighboring states. The West's interests in South Asia and the Persian Gulf region are interwoven with the freedom and prosperity of the nations there. The United States and other Western nations should consider promoting a democratic and prosperous community of nations in South Asia, with which Afghanistan can associate, along with the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. Such a policy could usher in a more progressive and peaceful political situation in the region. Unless it is carried out soon, a crisis even more serious than those in Lebanon and the Philippines could erupt in South Asia. □

CHINA

Things I Like About America

Wang Meng's status as an official representative of the Chinese government aroused some controversy at the 48th International PEN Congress. He received an effective defense, however, from the American poet and critic Willis Barnstone, who pointed out that Meng had spent twenty years in exile and in prison because of his writings. Since his release in 1977, he has been a leading spokesman for writers' rights in China and a caustic critic of party hacks. Given his background, his Norman Rockwell portrait of America takes on some depth and shadings. Meng's novel The Young Newcomer, *published in 1956, was hugely popular in China; his other books include* The Butterfly *and* Voices of Spring. *This article was translated by Zhu Hong of the Institute of Foreign Literature in Beijing.*

WANG MENG

I like the interplay of mental images of the Golden Gate Bridge, Boston churches and New York skyscrapers.

I like the maple leaves of Iowa and Indiana in autumn, apple pie, popcorn, college kids jogging in the early morning and the Library of Congress.

I like Americans' openness and their spirit of forging ahead. I like to listen to their accents, especially those of girls on the West Coast chatting. There is such innocent vitality and touching sincerity in American speech.

But New York City is too big, too much a kaleidoscope of good and evil. I fear I'll never understand it. People can lose

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themselves too easily there—even taxi drivers.

I like the writings of John Cheever and Truman Capote for their fresh perceptions and vivid ways of expressing those perceptions. I also like the song "The Way We Were."

I like the liveliness of seminars in American schools, but sometimes I feel that too much of the talk is based on ignorance or misinformation and that freedom of speech can deteriorate into freedom of self-advertisement.

I like Americans' sense of humor and their openness of spirit, the way they accept and assimilate everything. But I hate the cocksureness of a few Americans, who behave as if they were going to save the rest of the world from hellfire and damnation. The insensitivity and brazenness of such people reveals their naïveté and ignorance of culture and history, and of the world in general.

I wish Americans would be aware not only of what they know, what they have, what they have achieved, what they are doing and what they will do, but also of what they don't know, what they haven't achieved and what they will never achieve. Only then can they be truly mature.

I am deeply impressed by the interest and friendliness of Americans toward the Chinese people, but I am appalled by their lack of knowledge about us.

When I think of how many friends I have in this country, I feel very warm, and not a little proud. □

HUNGARY

Homage to New York

When we asked George Konrád for his thoughts on the United States, he replied that it was too big, too complex, for him to write about. He would prefer, he said, to give us his thoughts on America's international metropolis, which transcends the nation-state. His books include The Caseworker, The Loser *and* Antipolitics. *He makes his home in Budapest. Richard E. Allen did the translation.*

GEORGE KONRÁD

1.

State man, urban man: an interesting pair of concepts. State man doesn't do much for himself; he doesn't have the time. He serves. He serves either the state or the cause of reforming it or the cause of criticizing it. State man is incapable of being a real city dweller. The city dweller doesn't give much thought to the state. The government will soon pass on, like a change in the weather; another will come, the city remains. That's what I feel in New York.

Small city, middle-sized city, great national city, world city. Today the world city is the only true metropolis; from it you can understand smaller cities. From it I can read the philosophy of the city—urbanism as a world outlook. The city planner, the taxi driver and the stroller each has his own kind of urbanism. Strolling is the tenderest of city customs; strollers are a city's true adepts, its experts, its accomplices, its lovers.

The whole world watches the metropolis, and the metropolis, in turn, watches the whole world. This is where the most letters, the most telephone calls, the most messages come in. It's the most intensive point in the worldwide network of news traffic. Theoretically, I should be smartest here. People come to New York not for its past or for esthetic experiences but for the varieties of life that it affords in concentrated form. Gifted people congregate where something is happening. A big city becomes a metropolis to the extent that it becomes more free. My own Budapest is still smothered by the Hungarian state, but less and less all the time. In the duel between state and big city, the big city always wins in the long run.

Those who have endured limitations on their freedom elsewhere are always glad to come to a great world metropolis. New York wins because it's the most attractive. Eccentrics drift here. Here you have the greatest number of political émigrés, financial adventurers, snobs, stars, trendsetters, freaks, gurus and mafiosi. The city that receives is always the strongest one; it's the city that people want to come to, the one where foreign artists and scholars want to spend an extended time. There you will find the greatest number of interesting people to talk with. Local circles abound; everyone who's interesting shows up there. The metropolis can afford to wait patiently; its guests will come.

2.

The metropolis is an arena of competition, a vanity fair, a carnival of artificial wonders. It's a jam pot for the bees. We inquisitive intellectuals are the flightiest bees. In the days of Picasso and Kandinsky, the most rebellious painters congregated in Paris. It does a community good if in the end it can be proud of something that's happening or has happened there.

The most distinctive stratum of a metropolis is its international intelligentsia. They are relatively few in number, but without them there's no metropolis. (International intelligentsia? People who know one another and know the world, people whom the world knows too. They are the first to discover or create something, each in his or her own line.) Intellectuals need good cafés where they can talk the night away, where even the secret policemen are liberals, where virtually anything can be said.

I want hospitable places where, at three in the morning, men and women with interesting faces chatter and argue. At three in the morning people lend a fateful significance to the most fanciful and abstract ideas, ideas devoid of any practical utility.

3.

It's natural for people to run down the place where they are. When I'm in New York, I run down New York more than anyplace else. The place where we are is never perfect. And yet it's quite entertaining. When I don't have the money to go somewhere, I know that something will happen if I just stroll down the street.

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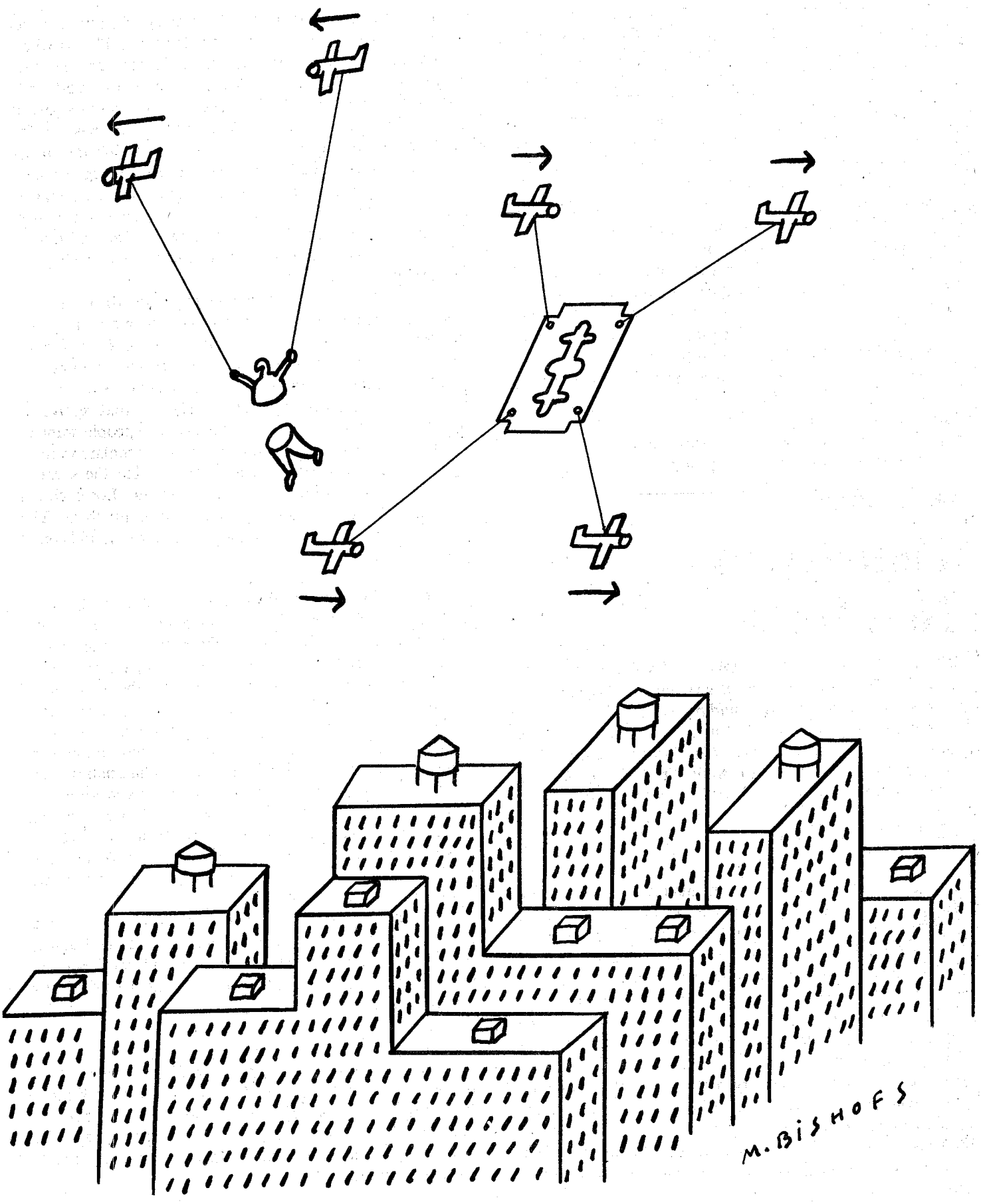
Soviet Union

MARIS BISHOFS



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To abuse the metropolis with humor and tenderness, you have to do so from the very center of it, from its womb. The metropolis applauds its calumniators; it doesn't hold on to anyone forcibly. Its victims stay of their own accord. Its wreckage doesn't want to be wrecked anyplace but there; its rubble wants to go on crumbling there, while those who are still in one piece don't want to risk taking a fall anyplace but there.

All these rail against the metropolis: romantics who turn their backs on the present to yearn for the past or future; fanatics; the willfully blind; the strivers, conservatives and Communists; the devout; the patriots; the populists; the nature lovers; the fundamentalists and moralists. They all rail against it with passion; all these good people would like to level Nineveh.

We alone glorify it, from the tops of the skyscrapers—we, love's anarchists, a world conspiracy sworn to impertinence. All right, city hater, we'll raise our glasses in the bar; you can skulk in your hermitage, then come back to the bar and let us see your suntan and your hermit's robe. No doubt there's more room on the prairies than here on the back of Manhattan Island. Maybe we who huddle together here are all fools. That's all right, fools like a crowd.

4.

The grasshopper is prometropolitan, the ant is antimetropolitan. There's nothing we love more than holidays, parades, carnivals. We want weddings and revolutions, funerals and circuses, processions and demonstrations. It's obvious that many of us became revolutionaries because it was interesting. Our prime motive is to avoid boredom. There's nothing some people want more than a good time.

The driving force behind urbanization is people's simian curiosity about one another. The good city, the true city, is the one where great willpower is needed to stay home when so many things tempt us to step out of the house.

The more sophisticated a city, the more time people spend in its public squares. Where people slouch at home, people aren't free. A free man is an exhibitionist; it's the captive who's retiring.

The city's theatricality finds expression most fully in one of its great historic squares. Strolling here means showing yourself, greeting all and sundry, taking the measure of everyone, knowingly and tellingly.

True cities have a richly luxuriating mythology which provides its residents with constant and endless subjects of discussion. Many people throng into these cities mainly because they want to immerse themselves in this mythology. It's an unparalleled, labyrinthine fabric of stories, real history with a frosting of legend. Happy the city that has this aureole of mythology.

5.

I find that in a metropolis I'm in better form, my mind is nimbler; there's more stimulus, more challenge. My motor runs faster. But a big city isn't just mind; it's heart too. It's not without passion, but it's selective and fastidious. Not everyone is the right person for it.

In a metropolis people are free to do most things; they have the greatest chance of realizing their ideas. Even the poor can find things of interest here. Elsewhere, being rich is boring. Here you will find the most self-love and the fewest feelings of inferiority. The city is self-sufficient and thinks that what happens here is of global importance. And it is.

The metropolis is not a place without risk. It can chew you up, it can drive you crazy, it can awaken you to a sense of your own paltriness. And yet if you leave it, you'll miss it.

Here the little ego feels as big as the whole universe one minute, and the next it feels like a point diminishing to nothing. You get on the plane with all your local worries, you spend ten days here, and you feel all your concerns roll off you. It's possible that nothing will come together for you. Life is expensive here. But you know it's a waste of time to run on any other track.

6.

We are creating an esthetic community, a religion more of women than of men. The essence of the metropolis is that in it women find a worthier place than they do in the masculine provinces.

The metropolis is a self-constructing subject, more a goddess than a god; it gives birth to human communities, its creatures. But the great city is also a creature—and all the more so the closer it comes to being a great world city, a metropolis. It is an artificial counterreality, at once concentration and illumination.

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People are not playthings of blind forces here; here they take a hand in the game. Enough craving for freedom collects in a big city at least to palliate oppression. Here we are most able to elude our tormentors; here it is easiest for a citizen to look the commandant ironically in the eye. □

THE WORLD

The Passing of The Old Order

E.P. Thompson's credentials as an internationalist, antinuclear division, require only a cursory mention in The Nation, *to which he has been a frequent contributor since his "Letter to America" appeared in 1981. A leader of the European Nuclear Disarmament movement, he is the author, most recently, of* The Heavy Dancers *and the editor of* Star Wars. *A social historian by trade, Thompson's other books include* The Making of the English Working Class, William Morris *and* The Poverty of Theory. *He lives in England, where he devotes himself to writing and antinuclear activism. His vision of a possible future, which is taken from a speech delivered on October 30, 1985, at the founding ceremonies for the Eugene Lang College of the New School for Social Research, is an appropriate valediction to this fragmentary portrait of America.*

E.P. THOMPSON

When I visited Manhattan in 1930, or even in 1946, gentlemen wore straw hats in the summer, which they raised gallantly to ladies—or did I see that in the movies?—and the glory of the city was an exalted mode of transport known as the El. Today one has to explain even to young New Yorkers what the El was, and how there was once a time when citizens did not creep in fear and in protective packs into a menacing subway, or so we are told in Europe.

My point is that time present is as fragile and as evanescent a thing as it has always been. Indeed, technology's imperatives, if they are not firmly controlled, may hasten the young of today through not one but several futures, as little foreseen and little willed as my own time past. What seems to be the given global reality today, whose deafening common sense imposes limits everywhere on what is possible, is the cold war—taking this in its largest sense to mean a bipolar field of force splitting polities and ideologies in half, structured into the most elaborate and deadly military systems in human history. I do not mean that every nation or every idea belongs to one pole or the other of that cold war field of force. Between the black and the white there are shades of gray, as the U.N. General Assembly tries to remind us. Yet the grays feel every day the magnetic tug of one or other pole, and part of the drama of summits and Geneva negotiations is played out to influence that audience.

I do not expect that in thirty years' time the cold war will have ground to a truce because both parties to it will have constructed impermeable shields in space over their heads. On the contrary, if humanity cannot think of a better script than that, my guess is that by that time history will already have come to a terminus. This is one very obvious future, in the minds of old and young alike.

That future, or nonfuture, is not only quite possible, but it also becomes more probable with each year that the powers of the world neglect to find a different script. I think we may be entering a time in which the structures established at the end of World War II will unravel. The unnatural bipolar division of the world is now held in place largely by unwieldy armories (as fact and as symbol) and by the alliances and strategies laid down in the late 1940s. In the future I imagine, we would see a smudging of the edges of both blocs and an increasing return to diplomatic pluralism, with alternative poles of influence. While this process will be, and indeed is being, resisted furiously by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact, eventually the peoples of both superpowers will come to realize that pluralism or polycentrism offers a better shield between them than do weapons technologies.

I envision no human future in which one or the other side wins the cold war. In the more hopeful future that I am suggesting the cold war, as structure and as expectation, would disappear as swiftly as the old European empire. I do not mean that it would give way to utopia or some happy federal world. It would give way to a different world, with new problems and, maybe, even with some revived national antagonisms coming back into play as the clamps of cold war uniformity are removed. A more pluralistic world would not necessarily be one in which competition between nations is subdued. We are coming to the end of the cold war epoch. The executors of that conflict will either destroy civilization in an attempt to hold their positions and power, or they will give way before one of those untidy transitional rapids of history, full of eddies and crosscurrents, in which choices between futures must be made.

What we will need most of all in such a transitional time will be the discourse of a true internationalism. The human mind must go ahead of political realities and forms and beat a path which political relations may later follow. This is true, most of all, in exchanges between the political West and East.

Indeed, it has long been happening. We are light-years away from the late 1940s or early 1950s, when ideologists battled between the poles of Zhdanovism and McCarthyism, and when agencies of the Cominform or the Congress for Cultural Freedom sought to fight out a battle of ideas across the globe. The stereotypes formed in the Stalinist zenith throw their ghastly shadows on the living mind and obscure the present view. But anyone alert to what young minds in the Soviet bloc are thinking knows that they are not following that worn-out script, any more than those in the West are.

It is just possible that we are entering a period in which ideas will exercise force again. And the discourse of minds

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across national frontiers—but most of all across the military and ideological divide that separates East from West—will be critical to choices between futures. At best we might look forward to an exciting confluence of minds from greatly different national experiences and cultures. But this will never happen if the minds are suspected of acting as servants of armed states. To build the internationalism of the future, scientists, writers and scholars must come to that meeting as internationalists and not as vectors of national or cold war ideology.

Some months ago I spoke at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association in Washington. On that occasion I took as a theme the late maturing of an American nationalism that appears to require for the confirmation of its identity an eternal state of warfare with a Communist Other. This wave of populist nationalism in the States, with its caricature in Rambo and its strategies of aggressive isolationism, is alarming America's friends and neighbors.

Yet through good times and ill, the tenacious traditions of American internationalism have never flagged. How could they in a nation whose people have been gathered from the four corners of the globe? Some services Americans do for the world are those they think they are doing only for themselves. I refer to maintaining openness of information and of Congressional inquiry, the Freedom of Information Act, open debates among scientists, arms controllers and diplomats. The world is in danger of being blown up (in part by Americans), yet the dimensions of that danger are known only through American sources. They would certainly never be known through British sources, with that nation's obsessive guardianship of official secrecy—not to keep secrets from the Russians (who have other ways of finding out) but to keep them from the British people. Nor through French sources. The official lies that followed the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior have illustrated that.

I say, very seriously, that the constitutional defenses of information and the press in the United States, and the active exercise of those rights, have been critical to the whole world, and may yet prove critical to its survival. The *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* may be taken as only one source. The grand old American tradition of leaking secret information in the interests of democratic accountability is proving to be infectious also. In my work for the peace movement in the past five years, my heart has been gladdened by the growing harvest of atrocious official documents that fall into the public domain off the back of trucks, being given a helping push by civil servants with a public conscience. This is happening in West Germany, in the Netherlands, even in secrecy-obsessed Britain (the Sarah Tisdall and Clive Ponting cases), but also on the other side. The secret memorandums of the Czech and Hungarian Communist parties have started to fall off the backs of trucks. Last year there came into our hands the in camera proceedings against a Soviet peace activist before a court in Moscow.

I cannot now explore these internationalist traditions, both in academia and in public life, more fully. But I will mention, swiftly, one problem with which American internationalism has had to contend.

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This has arisen from the nation's very ethnic diversity, which has led to the fiction that America is not, in the usual sense, a nation at all but is an image of the universal human future. And to this might be added, in the postwar decades, an overconfidence in America's modernity and boundless horizons. These illusions proved to be pliant to the purposes of cold war ideology and at times were even turned into an export business rather close to cultural imperialism. There was even a troubled moment when they entered academic life in certain abbreviated or vulgarized forms of modernization theory. All nations, it was supposed, must pass through predictable stages of modernization, in which the free market was the engine of all other freedoms, and the outcome of this process would be every nation's becoming like America.

Ten years ago I might have spent more time on this point. But modernization theory in this simplistic form—this marriage of a vulgar Weberianism to an even more vulgar Marxism, in a ceremony blessed by Adam Smith—has long been subjected to criticism, not only by scholars in the developing world but also, trenchantly, by American social scientists and historians. Yet its ghost lingers on in populist rhetoric, and the notion that America—or a cosmetic preparation marketed as "the American way of life"—is *the* human future is a strong component of what non-Americans see as nationalist ideology.

Its strength, as always with ideology, lies in its truth. There are still many nations in which one may teach or work for a lifetime and yet be regarded as an outsider. Once the initial hurdles are vaulted, it is easier to become an American than to be adopted into any other nation. American society's openness and capacity to assimilate is unique. But this generous reality also fosters the illusion that America is the face of all humankind, whereas to those outside its borders America seems to become more American with every passing decade: that is, more the creature of unique historical and cultural determinations, a time-bound and local civilization like any other, subject to the same imperatives of change. It is evident that something like a continental political and cultural drift is taking place, drawing the futures of America, Europe and Asia further apart. There may be no harm in that. We may still admire one another and learn from one another, even as we grow more unalike. But the particular individualism of the American tradition, defended and enlarged by law in the name of each citizen's right to pursue the goal of ego-fulfillment, poses different problems from those of societies in which class or community goals and solidarities take higher priority.

Moreover, it is not as clear now as it once seemed to be that even America can look forward to an "American future." As the competitive position of some American industry is weakening in the world markets, as the whole elaborate structure of civilization seems to rest on airy foundations of debt, and as the social problems of advanced industrial society become more apparent, one sometimes wonders whether even great America might not glimpse ahead of it a British or a Belgian future?

The other reason this projection by vulgarized moderniza-

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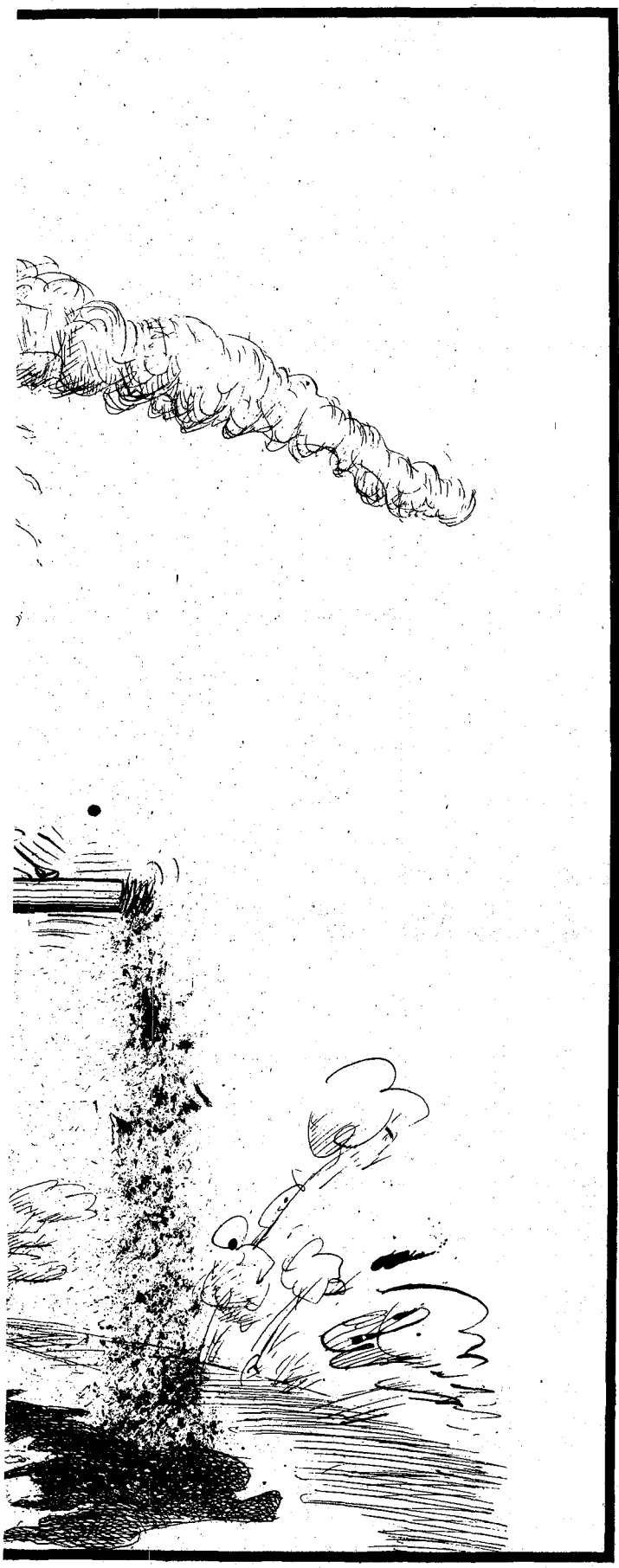

tion theory of a universal human future has come to lack conviction is that modernization seems to be summoning up revenges on its own head. The last decades have been notable not for the spread of enlightenment but for the revival across the globe of older nationalisms, the rebirth of antimodernist religious fundamentalism (in Israel as well as in the Moslem world) and the proliferation of cults and obscurantism in the modern metropolises themselves.

I gesture at this only to cheer up the young. We have left them plenty of work to do, and the future will find them plenty more. The overconfidence of the positivist school of social science, which once even supposed that its sciences might become exact, has long passed away. We know now that much of our work must be in the diagnosis of the reasons of societal unreason. The binary mode of logic of a computer-dependent intellectuality will never take us more than halfway toward that understanding. For the other half we still need the cultivation of a neglected faculty—the imagination—a faculty which, in ways we scarcely understand, leaps out of algorithmic paths, disclosing in symbolic vocabulary affinities and contradictions for which software can compose no program.

If we are to control our future we must understand and control ourselves. We must, as Shelley once wrote, "imagine that which we know." And if we are to imagine our place in the brief human record at a time of crisis so extreme that it threatens that record's continuance, then I suspect that it may be poetry that we will need most of all. □

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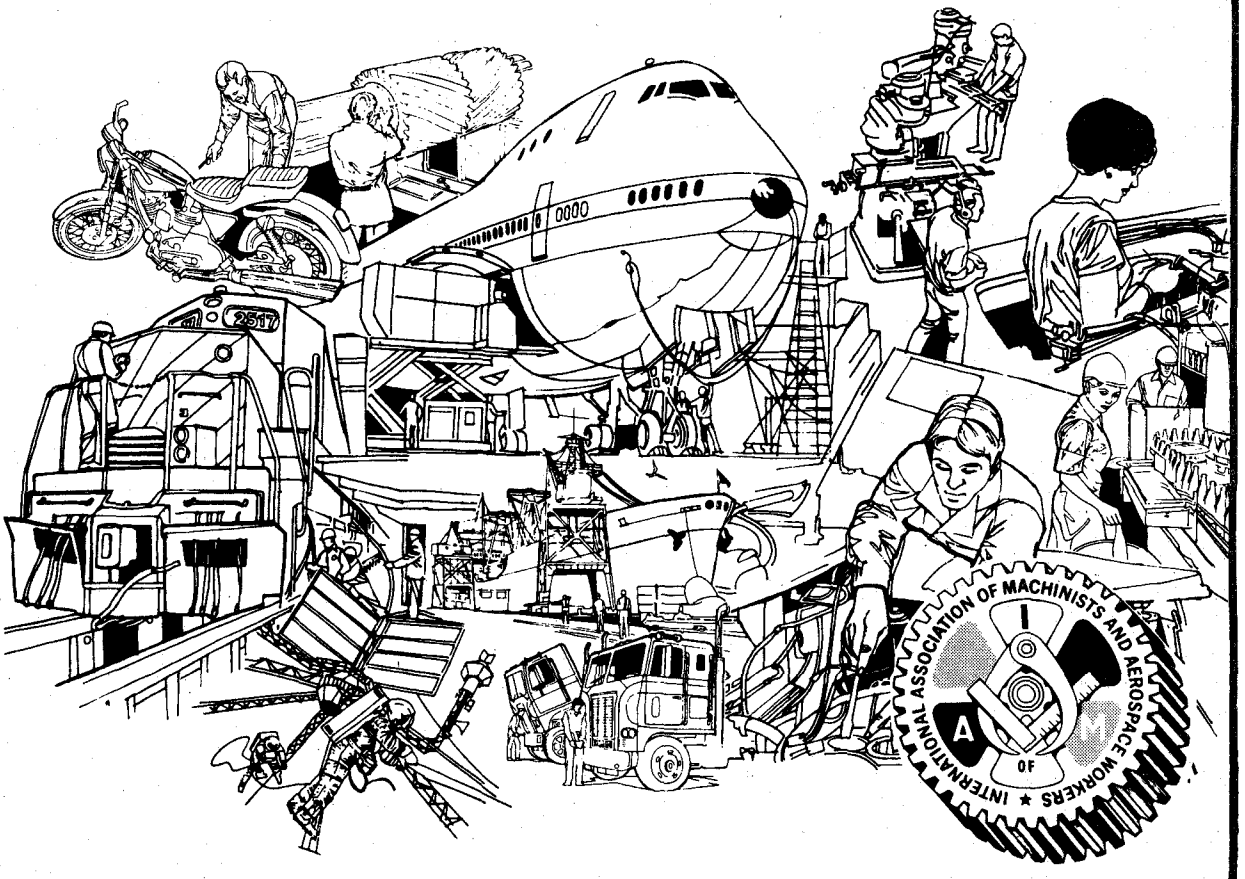

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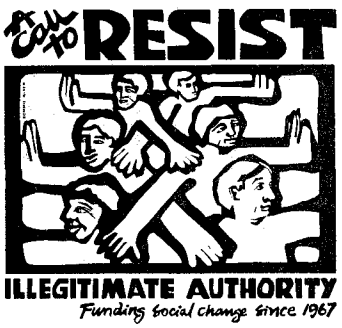

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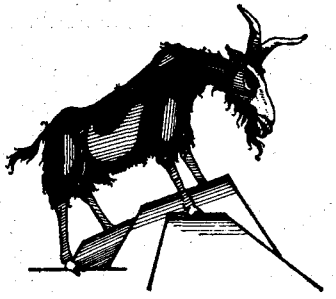

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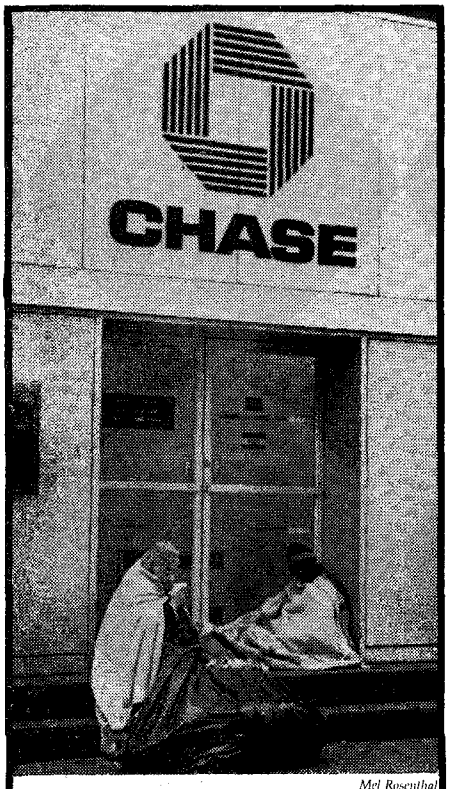

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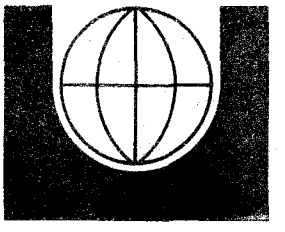

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HOW TO BITE BULLETS.

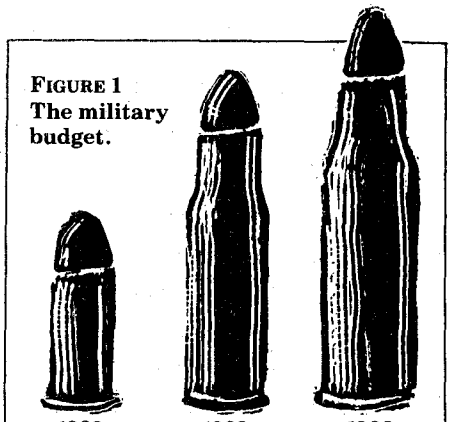

FIGURE 1
The military budget.

There are only two things missing from Reagan's scorched-earth budget. A future worth paying for. And a way to pay for the future we *do* face.

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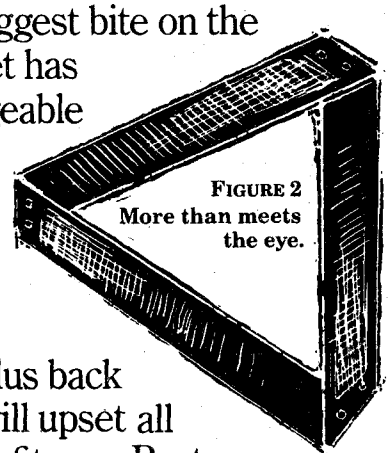

FIGURE 2
More than meets the eye.

Of course, putting the Pentagon's surplus back into programs that actually do some good will upset all those defense profiteers, Pentagon procurers and porkbarrel politicians who make up the "iron triangle" (FIGURE 2).

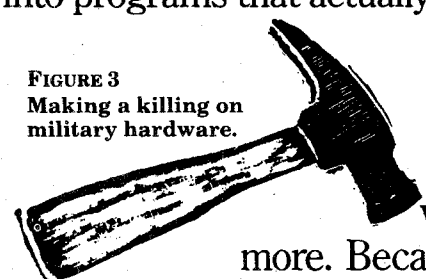

FIGURE 3
Making a killing on military hardware.

Failing to do so, on the other hand, will hurt ourselves and our children much more. Because boondoggles like Star Wars, the M-X and $436 hammers (FIGURE 3) ultimately mean fewer jobs, less productive research, hungry families and unliveable cities.

It's bad enough when a budget's numbers don't add up, but this budget doesn't even have its priorities right. Together, we can change that. Together, we must. The bottom line is, we can't afford not to.

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DOCUMENTS.

OPENING THE FILES

The History of *The Nation* According to the F.B.I.

Obtaining The Nation*'s Federal Bureau of Investigation file under a Freedom of Information Act request took five years of persistent prodding and $177. At first the Bureau told us that the fee would be $595, but we contested it. The original estimate supposedly covered employees' search time and the cost of duplicating approximately 3,000 documents for the period from 1922 through 1982.*

In March 1984 we received the fruits of the request: twelve bound and numbered volumes of reports, memorandums, clippings and much else; and a thirteenth volume, consisting of a stack of unnumbered pages and a content analysis of nine years of Nation *issues. All told, more than 2,000 pages, weighing in at twenty pounds. Less than 5 percent of the documents had been blacked out—mostly names of sources and individuals under investigation. All of the materials came from F.B.I. headquarters in Washington. We cannot know how many documents the Bureau couldn't find. We also must remain in ignorance of any that ended up in J. Edgar Hoover's vanished private files or that were arbitrarily withheld or were shredded. Many other documents may be stored in the files of the Bureau's fifty-nine field offices, including those in New York City and Los Angeles, where* Nation *materials have turned up in connection with separate F.O.I.A. requests. Therefore, the following narrative is incomplete, and those whose names are omitted should not be offended.* —*The Editors*

PENN KIMBALL

The history of *The Nation* as seen by the Federal Bureau of Investigation appears to have begun when Oswald Garrison Villard purchased the magazine, in July 1918. The F.B.I. had been keeping a watchful eye on Villard, according to its records, from as early as 1915, when he was seeking a Mexican Peace Commission to head off U.S. military intervention south of the border. The F.B.I. files on Villard record that he also opposed U.S. entry into World War I and was known to consort with anti-British and pro-Irish elements. *The Nautical Gazette*, a shipping weekly owned by the Villard family, allegedly published submarine reports taken from German newspapers; its mailing privileges were therefore held up for a time under the Espionage Act.

The first entry concerning *The Nation*, in Section 1 of File No. 61-901, is a letter, misdated as it happens, January 21, 1921. The author was Frank Burke, formerly of the Justice Department who at the time managed the Division of Investigation at the U.S. Shipping Board. Writing soon after the turn of the new year 1922, Burke apparently made the mistake so many of us do in the wake of the calendar change. The letter directs the attention of Bureau of Investigation Director William J. Burns, J. Edgar Hoover's predecessor, to two enclosures: a pamphlet on the anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, who were on trial for their lives over an alleged robbery and murder in Braintree, Massachusetts, and a copy of *The Nation*. The two publications had been addressed to M.B. Claussen, head of the "advertising section" of the U.S. Shipping Board, Emergency Fleet Corporation, who had turned them over to Burke. Shades of Woodstock typewriters a quarter-century later, Burke compared the type on the address portion of the two publications and deduced that "both were sent out by the same office and addressed by the same Addressograph or similar machine." He then closed the letter to his former colleague with this suggestive remark: "You will, of course, recall that the department has a large file on Villard."

On January 31, Director Burns instructed Special Agent H.J. Brennan, in New York, to make "a strictly confidential investigation" of whether *The Nation*, then located at 20 Vesey Street, "is also distributing Sacco-Vanzetti propaganda." Seven days later Brennan forwarded to Washington a copy of a telegram sent by Villard to the American Academy of Arts and Letters urging the organization to join "an appeal . . . to save Sacco and Vanzetti." The agent also ascertained that "up to the present date the Nation Company has mailed fourteen thousand (14,000) copies of 'The Story of the Sacco-Vanzetti Case' together with a circular asking for assistance for defense purposes."

On February 15, Director Burns forwarded Brennan's reports to Burke, remarking, "The situation is extremely interesting." On April 21, Special Agent Brennan sent another two-page memorandum "Re: Nation Publishing Company—20 Vesey Str," but its entire contents were blacked out by F.B.I. censors acting more than sixty years later, on December 1, 1982, in response to *The Nation*'s F.O.I.A. request. Thus the security of the Republic is preserved.

Although nothing in the files indicates what prompted it, on June 3, 1922, Director Burns asked Brennan for "a very full and detailed report upon the present activities of Oswald G. Villard, editor of The Nation, and particularly his present activities concerning the ship subsidy bill," which provided for Federal payouts to U.S. shipowners in competition with foreign carriers. Six days later Brennan whipped back a four-page memorandum headed "Oswald Garrison Villard—Radical Activities." Here is a sampling:

> Villard is also strongly imbued with the beliefs to which his grandfather, William Lloyd Garrison, gave utterance, and like his more famous relative, is a strong Abolitionist. This is said to account for his attitude in connection with the Government's conduct of Haitian affairs. . . . He was associated with such widely known radicals as CHARLES ERVIN, Editor of the New York Call, [journalist] MARY HEATON VORSE, ROBERT MINOR, the Communist Agitator, HERBERT M. CROLY . . . as well as many others of the

Penn Kimball taught at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism until 1986. He is the author of The File *(Harcourt Brace Jovanovich).*

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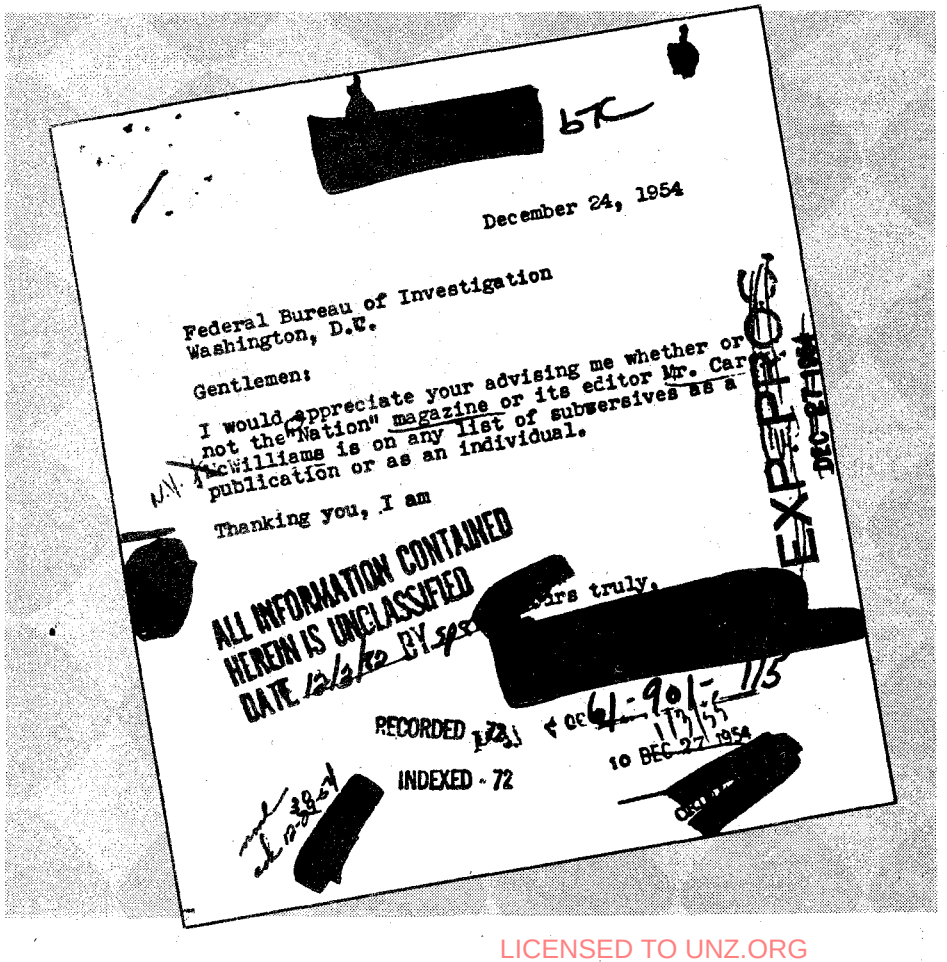
same shade. . . . Villard is also said to be a member of "The Fine Arts Guild,' of 21 East 14th Street, under whose auspices on January 23rd, 1921, he acted as chairman at a meeting at which SCOTT NEARING [an economics professor and Socialist Party candidate for Congress in New York City in 1919] was one of the principals and under whose auspices MARGARET SANGER gave several lectures on Sex Education, and other widely known radicals also appeared. The policy and activities of "The Nation" are too well-known to the Bureau to require comment by the writer.

In response to Burns's curiosity concerning Villard's stance on the ship subsidy bill, Brennan reported that *The New York Evening Post*, of which Villard's father had been the owner, had opposed ship subsidies, and that "it has been learned from a person who was closely associated with Villard on 'The Post' that he followed the lines laid down by his father." In addition, "his brother HAROLD G. VILLARD is Editor of the [Nautical] Gazette and its pages are given up largely to anti-Ship Subsidy propaganda." Copies of *The Nautical Gazette* were attached.

This alarming information, together with the data on Villard's editorial leanings and radical associates, was forwarded by Burns on June 19 to the interested party at the U.S. Shipping Board.

So ended the opening episode of the F.B.I.'s history of *The Nation*. It reveals patterns that appear again and again in the agency's approach to the magazine. Here the ostensible issue was "subversive" politics, particularly *The Nation*'s support for Sacco and Vanzetti, whose case was being tracked in the Bureau by the young J. Edgar Hoover. But something else was at stake: the U.S. government's payment of millions of dollars in subsidies to American maritime shipping interests. Proponents of Congressional legislation mandating the subsidies sought to discredit the bill's opponents, including the Villard family. Thus the supposedly apolitical Bureau used its vaunted secret files in the service of the political ends of an ally in another government department. And the purpose of monitoring Villard's alleged subversion was not to protect the Republic but to advance the economic interest of people who disagreed with him.


December 24, 1954

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

I would appreciate your advising me whether or not the "Nation" magazine or its editor Mr. Carey McWilliams is on any list of subversives as a publication or as an individual.

Thanking you, I am

Yours truly,

EXPEDITE

DEC 27 1954

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The explanation of why the policies and activities of *The Nation* were already notorious inside the Bureau in the early 1920s does not surface in the released files until the seven-page summary on Oswald Garrison Villard, prepared on November 22, 1934, eighteen months after he had sold the magazine. "As owner and editor of 'The Nation' Villard has consistently shown his radical tendencies," the report stated. High on the list of transgressions was the fact that the magazine in 1920 "criticized the Department of Justice for its policy in dealing with the radicals, and said the Department was passing judgment without ascertaining the facts in the cases." The reference was to Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer's practice of rounding up "subversives" at the close of World War I. An offending quotation from the June 17, 1920, issue of *The Nation* mentioned "Mr. Palmer's remarkable transgressions of law in pursuit of the Reds."

More data from the early Villard era surfaced in a fourteen-page memorandum on the history of *The Nation*, completed on June 27, 1940. The historical review is accompanied in the file by a series of handwritten notes that seem to have been made by someone reviewing Bureau records not included in the released material:

> In 1920 Samuel Gompers former pres of A F of L denounced The Nation as being un-American & of Bolshevist tendency.
>
> In 1921—a man named Beals (Carleton), a circulation agent [*sic*] for The Nation, said . . . "The circulation of The Nation has quadrupled since it became Bolshevist."
>
> In 1921 a radical group known as the Press Writers Union was active in NYC. It was composed of well known left wing leaders as Robt Minor Crystal Eastman and Winthrop D. Lane. Most of the staff of The Nation belonged to this organiza. The group's principle was—"We will not write news antagonistic to organized labor."
>
> In 1921 Ernest H. Gruening was Managing Editor of The Nation. Criticized use of Marines in Haiti. Gruening is a former member of the Commt vs American Imperialism.
>
> In 1921 Lewis S. Gannett a Socialist was Assoc editor of The Nation. In 1921 he attended the Congress of the CI for the Nation in Moscow.
>
> In spring of 1921 The Nation was

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represented in Europe by Henry G. Alsberg—who at that time was reported to be a confirmed Bolshevist.

In Apr 1921 it was reported that Brd of Education in Los Ang had prohibited The Nation from circulation in the school libraries in L.A.

Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party, was an assistant editor of it in 1922.

It had a circulation of 25,777 copies in the "NY District" and was classified an "Intellectual Radical" magazine.

It is also recorded that Villard wa listed in January 1920 as a foundin member of the American Civil Libertie Union, "whose members included radi cals, communists, IWW's and social ists." And on December 3, 1920, it i noted, Villard met Muriel McSweeney wife of the late Lord Mayor of Cork Ireland, aboard the S.S. Celtic, alon "with a number of persons of radica tendencies."

The only other remnant from th 1920s in the released documents is a March 27, 1923, internal memorandun addressed to J.E. Hoover, Esq., wh was to succeed Burns as Director i 1924. Written by an employee in th "Bureau of Translations and Radica Publications," it suggests that F.B.I staff members were already aware o Hoover's growing fascination with th Soviet Union and the threat of th Communist Party to the internal securi ty of the United States: "In the Natio for March 28th (going down to Wash ington today)," the memorandum said, "there is an editorial—Lenin–And After—which may interest you."

The 1930s: Mr. Hoover Is Unavailable for Comment

Most of what was happening in th pages of *The Nation* in the 1930s failed to arouse the curiosity of the F.B.I. Judging by the paucity of material in the released file from those years of the Depression, Franklin Roosevelt, the Moscow trials, the rise of Mussolini and Hitler, and the Spanish Civil War, *The Nation* might have gone virtually unnoticed by the F.B.I. had it not committed a single grievous sin. It dared to criticize J. Edgar Hoover and his G-men.

The magazine itself was in transition. The F.B.I.'s bête noir, Oswald Garrison Villard, gave up the editor's post in 1932 and was replaced by a board of editors which included Freda Kirchwey, who later became editor. The Bureau's preoccupation in the early 1930s, shared

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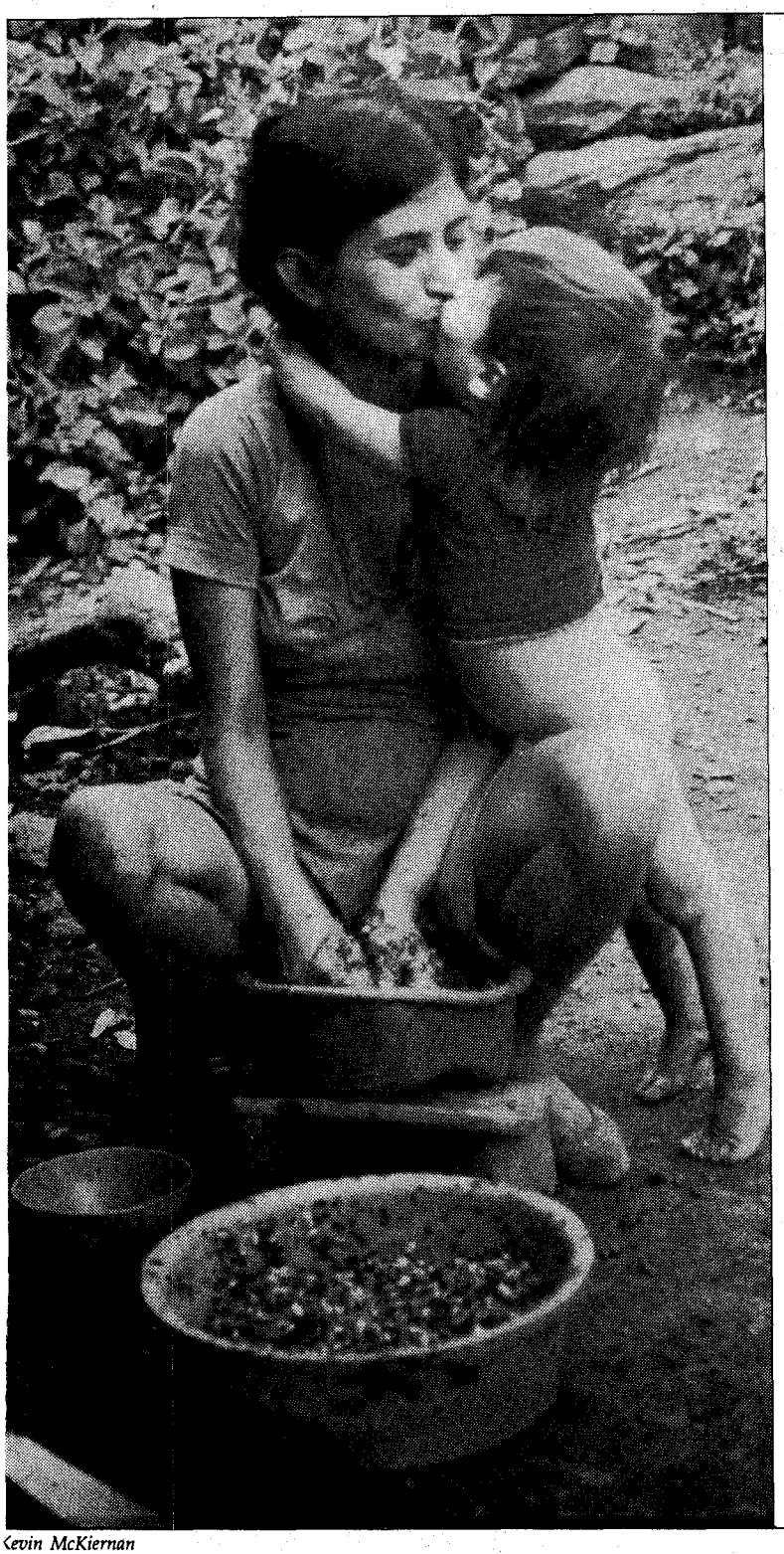

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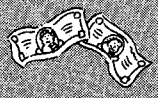

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by most of the country, was its war on gangsters and crime. Hoover himself had become a folk hero. But early in 1937, when word filtered down to F.B.I. headquarters that Kenneth G. Crawford, Washington correspondent for *The New York Evening Post* and the *Philadelphia Record*, was working on an article about the Bureau for *The Nation*, it became a subject of discussion at the highest levels.

On the afternoon of January 29, 1937, a telephone call to F.B.I. headquarters from a Mr. Wohlfarth of a Senate subcommittee on civil liberties headed by Robert LaFollette was logged in by P.E. Foxworth of the Bureau. The F.B.I.'s communications network on Capitol Hill and throughout the executive departments was becoming legendary. (The fullness of the quotations suggests that even at this early date telephone conversations may have been recorded.)

"Kenneth Crawford is here in my office," Wohlfarth began. "He says he is going to write an article about Mr. Hoover for The Nation, and he was down here asking me about the cooperation we have received from the FBI and I told him what excellent cooperation we have had, and the number of fingerprint things that you have run down for us, and all the facilities you've made available to us. . . . I'm sure Mr. Hoover wouldn't object to the Committee's giving this out but I just thought I'd check on it."

The Senate aide's eagerness to alert Hoover turned out to be unnecessary, because Crawford had already checked in with the press relations office at the Justice Department, asking for an interview with the Director. Hoover on the same day dictated a memorandum to his chief aide, Clyde Tolson, expressing misgivings about cooperating with Crawford: "I stated [to a Mr. Suydam in the Justice Department press office] I had granted interviews to several people who turned around and wrote nasty articles and that I did not like to aid them in this; that I did not desire a praiseworthy article but it should be presented factually and fairly. . . . Mr. Suydam stated he would . . . find out a little more about what [Crawford] had in mind."

Three days later Suydam reported to Hoover what he had discovered, and again Hoover dictated his assessment to Tolson:

> Mr. Suydam stated Mr. Crawford said there were so many charges and al-

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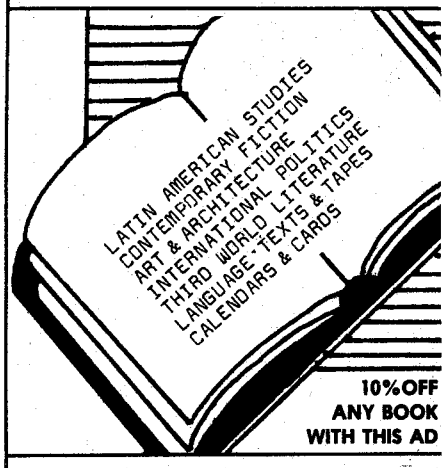

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legations against me he would like to clear them up. . . . they seem to feel in view of what they consider my activities under Mitchell Palmer the extension of the Bureau in the future might possibly be turned to political ends.

. . .

Mr. Suydam stated Crawford impressed him as being very frank and able to see both sides. . . . I stated that what my philosophical attitude was towards political radicals seemed to me to be immaterial as it was my job to enforce the law as I find it and the policies of the Bureau are determined by the Attorney General. . . .

Mr. Suydam inquired what the effect would be if I refused to see him; that he might then go about saying they had tried to get a fair statement on this and they were declined the privilege of an interview.

Hoover turned Special Agent Louis Loebl on the problem, and Loebl checked in with an informant whose identity the F.B.I. still protects. On February 20 Loebl reported, "[Name blacked out] stated that he, as well as others with whom he has talked about this matter, is of the opinion that an article of this kind would be grossly unjustified, first because it seems to be a matter of public interest that the high standing of the Director and the FBI not be jeopardized by undue newspaper attacks, and second because the articles written by a person who is in the employ of a Jew are to appear in a periodical which is financially supported by a Jew."

The New York office then phoned in a memorandum from one Special Agent Whitely, who had spoken with another informant, whose identity is also still under F.B.I. protection: "[Name blacked out] contacted the American Mercury and ascertained from the Editor that in magazine circles, the Nationa [*sic*] is considered an out and out radical publication; that it only prints definitely muckraking articles; that any individual dealing with the Nation definitely places himself at its mercy. Its stories must be consistent so it would not say anything nice about the Bureau in [name blacked out] opinion." At the bottom of the memorandum is typed:

Notation:
I told Suydam I would not see this man. We know how vicious and unfair the N.Y. Post & the Nation are & I see no purpose in trying to assist in the article as it would not be fair or accurate & would only ridicule & distort.
JEH

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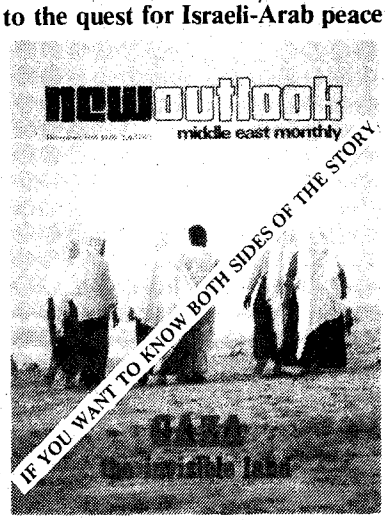

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Crawford's two-part article was published in the February 27 and March 6, 1937, issues, and duly noted, "This appraisal, because it was destined for The Nation, had to be written without benefit of a personal interview." Crawford reported that "the [La-Follette committee] investigators claim that Hoover, always fast on his feet, has given them valuable help," but he offered few other words of comfort:

> [J. Edgar Hoover's] hair-trigger methods have been salutary in wiping out, or almost wiping out, the kidnap racket. Grateful for this, Congress and the country have been inclined to overlook the dangers inherent in his disregard of the American traditions that every man is entitled to his day in court and to his own opinions. It is something less than reassuring that so much power has been handed over to a man brought up in the pettiness of bureaucracy and schooled by such master red-hunters as A. Mitchell Palmer and William J. Burns.

The 1940s: Red Gale Warnings

The F.B.I. file noted that the February 10, 1940, issue of *The Nation*, celebrating seventy-five years of publication, contained a congratulatory message from President Roosevelt himself, who wrote that the magazine, "which has so often espoused unpopular causes, has powerful enemies as well as loyal friends."

"It does not matter whether one agrees with *The Nation* or not," Roosevelt continued. "The important thing is that everywhere and always—particularly in a democracy—minorities shall have a means of expressing themselves, and *The Nation*, we all know, has often represented minority opinion and mighty unpopular minority opinion at that."

Less than a month later, on March 2, 1940, an editorial titled "Our Lawless G-Men" appeared in the magazine. It expressed alarm over a statement Hoover had made before the House Appropriations Committee that the Bureau had "compiled extensive indices of individuals, groups, and organizations engaged in these subversive activities, in espionage activities, or any activities that are possibly detrimental to the internal security of the United States." Urging the Attorney General "to investigate and forbid the extra-legal activities of the FBI," the magazine reminded readers that Hoover's General Intelligence Division had "played a part, according to Felix Frankfurter, in framing Sacco and Vanzetti," and warned that the Bureau sought to "revive illegal practices . . . [from] the days of A. Mitchell Palmer and William J. Burns."

Hoover asked the New York bureau to forward a copy of the issue as soon as possible, and the Washington staff to prepare a summary of the Bureau's files to date on this champion of unpopular causes.

The summary stated that "during 1937 The Nation was active in making collection of funds for the Spanish Loyalist forces during the Spanish Civil War," a subject that is not discussed elsewhere in the documents for those years released under the F.O.I.A. Two paragraphs were excerpted from Crawford's 1937 two-part article, with this warning: "It should be pointed out, however, that these articles are extremely vicious in their attack upon the Director, and it appears that no effort has been spared on the part of Kenneth G. Crawford or The Nation to express a fanatical hatred of the Bureau and especially its Director."

Turning to more contemporary events, the rundown reproduced "Our Lawless G-Men" in full, as well as extracts from

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a March 23, 1940, editorial that deplored the "methods of terror" employed by the F.B.I. in a Detroit raid on a group that had recruited for the Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War. "Those who use [such methods] have no place in American government," the editorial declared. "It would be well if a Senate committee looked into the FBI's card file. If it really is a list of persons dangerous to our form of government, it ought to include a card for 'Hoover, J. Edgar.'"

The next major flap inside the Bureau was prompted by two articles appearing in December 1940 and January 1941, which, according to a January 10, 1941, memorandum from Hoover to his chief aide, Clyde Tolson, and Assistant Director Louis B. Nichols, hinted at "discord between Attorney General Jackson and myself." Hoover reported that a confidential informant had revealed that the articles had been written by I.F. Stone, then *The Nation*'s Washington correspondent. "I think it would be well for us to make a very discreet check through contacts we have in Washington as to exactly who Stone is and what his background has been. I have never heard of him before, but he obviously is either a colossal liar or someone is passing stuff on to him which he accepts without checking."

Nichols got on the case two days later and sent a memorandum to Tolson: "I.F. Stone, whose real name is Isidor Feinstein, . . . was the writer of the editorial which appeared in the New York Post dated July 23, 1936," Nichols wrote. "This editorial intimates that the FBI is carrying on OGPU and Cheka tactics; that the Director is anti-labor and anti-union."

The F.B.I. also ascertained that *The Nation*'s Washington correspondent "took a very anti-Fascist stand" in a 1938 article for *Deutsches Volks Echo*, "the German language, Communist-controlled weekly"; had backed the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; and "had been associated with the publication PM."

That was by no means to be the last time Stone would incur the wrath of Hoover and the F.B.I. At each mention of him in the file it was pointed out that he was born under a different name. In July 1943, the Bureau cooked up the ultimate smear: "As a matter of interest Isidor Feinstein was born of Russian parentage and applied for a Special Agent's position in October, 1935. He was not qualified and accordingly not appointed." When asked about this recently, I.F. Stone was flabbergasted. "It's the first time I ever heard of any such accusation," he said. "It's the most horrible thing anybody ever said about me." He pointed out that he was working at the time as an editorial writer for the liberal *New York Post*, and was already a critic of the F.B.I.

On October 18, 1941, *The Nation* acted up again, in an article titled "Split Hairs and Tapped Wires." The issue was whether the Department of Justice and the F.B.I. were within the law in tapping the telephone of Harry Bridges, head of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and in making use of the information acquired. "Does the Department of Justice intend to obey the law or doesn't it? Is the department run by the Attorney General [Robert Jackson] or by J. Edgar Hoover?"

By this point the Director had grown impatient with depending solely on the vigilance of his agents in the field for news of such goings-on. He ordered the New York office to take systematic ac-

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A black South African's view of his country.

Fri., May 2, 3:00 & 6:30
THE AMISH: NOT TO BE MODERN
An intimate look at the Amish people who separate themselves from the 20th century.

Sat., May 3, 2:30 & 5:30
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A young Chinese-American woman visits her relatives in the People's Republic of China.
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TEARS FALL TWICE
Three Cambodian women living in America describe how they survived the Khmer Rouge holocaust.
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The story of the Khmer Classical Dance Troupe, which is now based in the U.S.

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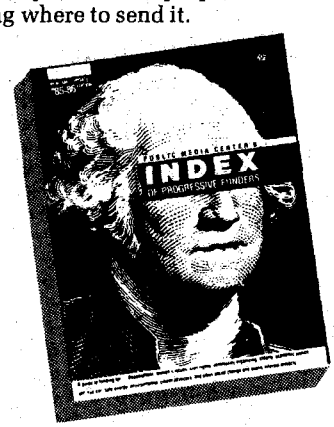

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tion, and on December 2, 1941, P.E. Foxworth reported, "Re: The Nation. A subscription for a period of three years has been placed for this publication as suggested."

In 1943 the F.B.I. embarked on an unusual research project—no less thorough than many a doctoral thesis—an exhaustive content analysis of all the issues of *The Nation* and *The New Republic* published between 1935 and 1943. The purpose was spelled out in a memorandum from Special Agent D.M. Ladd to the Director:

> It has been decided to divide the work into two parts. One part will treat the attitude of "The Nation" and the "New Republic" on those issues of the day concerning which the Communist Party likewise took a position. . . . The other part of the analysis will treat the attitude of the magazines toward the Bureau, and a comparison will be made to show the identical character of the position taken by "The Nation," the "New Republic" and the Communist Party. . . . Unless otherwise instructed by you, the work will proceed along the lines suggested above.

What could have prompted this excursion into scholarship? We are not privy to the internal documents regarding *The Nation*'s fellow journal of opinion, but 1943 was a time of high dudgeon in the marbled corridors of the F.B.I. over yet another unflattering exposé in the pages of *The Nation*.

In its issues of July 17 and 24 there appeared a two-part article titled "Washington Gestapo." It was signed XXX, the pseudonym of an executive in a war agency who was often visited by investigators from the F.B.I. and the Civil Service Commission checking the character of personnel under his supervision. "His identity has been revealed only to our Washington editor, I.F. Stone," the magazine announced, a disclosure guaranteed to send Red gale warnings up the mast on Pennsylvania Avenue.

"The investigators who come to sit by my desk," XXX recounted, "solemnly ask me such questions as the following":

> Does he mix with Negroes?
>
> Does he seem to have too many Jewish friends?
>
> Does his face light up when the Red Army is mentioned?
>
> Is it true that he reads *The Nation* and the *New Republic*?
>
> Do you think he is excessive in opposing fascism or Nazism?

"Questions like these are being used as a sieve to strain anti-fascists and liberals out of the government," XXX charged. "The Civil Service Commission and the FBI, by their attitude toward government workers, are undermining Washington's strength and will to fight. Hitler could do no more."

Freda Kirchwey followed up with an editorial on July 31, "End the Inquisition!" which urged readers to organize a public campaign against these abuses. In a memorandum to the Director, Ladd wrote: "There is considerable information in the possession of the Bureau in regard to Freda Kirchwey, who has been alleged to be a Communist or Communist sympathizer. . . . In the event the campaign of smearing the Bureau continues you will, of course, be kept promptly advised."

Letters of alert came into F.B.I. headquarters from special agents stationed in Jackson, Mississippi, San Antonio and Los Angeles. "A vicious at-

A CLEAN BILL OF HEALTH

The F.B.I.'s analysis of the editorial viewpoints of The Nation *and* The New Republic *came to the following conclusion:*

There are many points on which the two Liberal magazines pursue a policy akin to that of the Communist Party. . . . There is also demonstrated the fundamental opposition of the two weeklies to the Communist Party, U.S.A. and to many of the disagreeable aspects of the Soviet system as practiced by the U.S.S.R. . . . This is particularly evident when shifts were made in the Party line to conform to the changing policies of the Kremlin. Both magazines are contemptuous of the groveling and obsequious role of the American Communist Party. Neither sought to make its position conform to that of Stalin, and each found it possible and timely to flay the catering Communists with words of criticism and chastisement. Perhaps the most significant observation to be made from this analysis is the complete detachment and independent role of both "The Nation" and "The New Republic."

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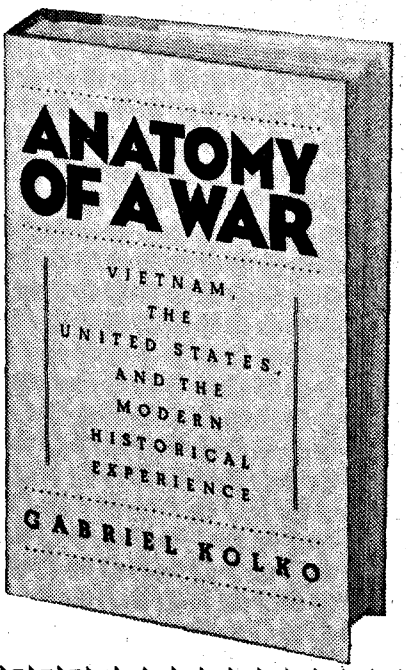

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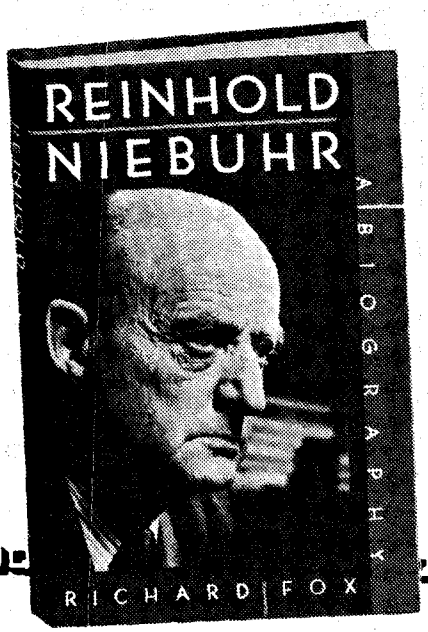

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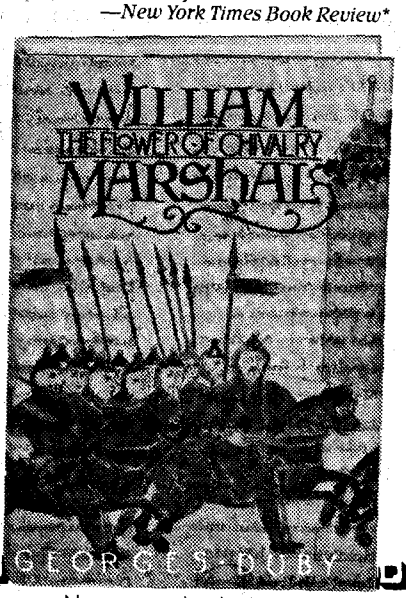

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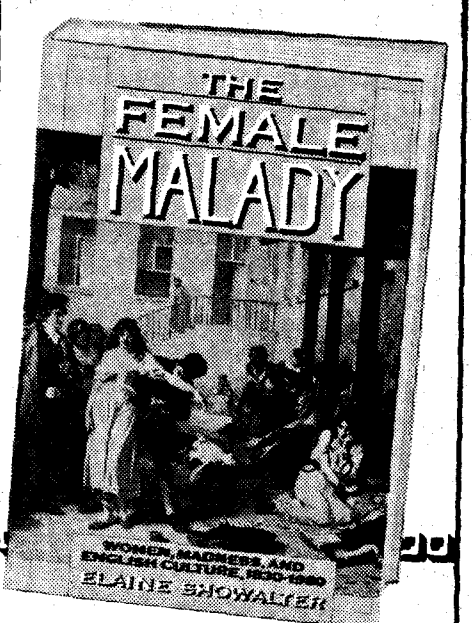

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tack against the Bureau," said one. Charles Malcomson, Director of Public Relations for the Justice Department and a onetime contributor to *The Nation*, wrote an eight-page, single-spaced letter to the magazine (not for publication, though he sent a copy to Hoover) protesting the allegations. "The Nation deserves to have its pants taken down and its posterior soundly smacked," Malcomson wrote.

Time and *The New Yorker* picked up the story, and *The Saturday Evening Post* assigned a piece on the subject to Pulitzer Prize winner Henry Pringle. Assistant Director Nichols told Tolson it would be a good ploy to show Pringle his own F.B.I. file: "I have never seen a cleaner investigation. There is not a single derogatory remark. . . . I think it would be extremely effective to show him his own file, of course, after placing him under an oath of secrecy and confidence. I think this would tickle his vanity and would convince him beyond reasonable doubt that our investigations are fair, which, of course, they are."

All this attention to *The Nation*'s attack on the Bureau might have convinced Hoover that the time had come for a full investigation of the links between *The Nation* and the Communist Party, at least in the realm of ideas. F.B.I. researchers took ruled sheets of paper, extracted portions of *Nation* and *New Republic* articles and set them alongside extracts published at the same time by the *Daily Worker*, *The New Masses* or *The Communist*. This goes on for 555 pages, classified "confidential." But frequently there is nothing to match, and often the carefully arranged quotations take opposite sides of an issue. The final report did not meet the Director's expectations. It concluded:

> First of all it must be asserted that Communists were not instrumental in the establishment of either of these weeklies.
>
> It must also be acknowledged that both journals have sustained contributors who were once members of the Communist Party who subsequently strayed and departed from the Party's embrace. In no instance was it found that either magazine employed as a regular contributor any person who was, during such a period of contribution, a member of the Communist Party. . . .
>
> Neither journal is able to make a harmonious adjustment in a capitalist America. Both are interested in the establishment of socialism. Neither profess to be Marxist, "The Nation" making a specific denial. Both are opposed to violent change in the social order.
>
> . . .
>
> Neither magazine believes that all good comes from Moscow. Each voices freely its aversion and detestation of that which it finds objectionable in the Soviet system.

The researchers found nineteen cases in which "both magazines have been in substantially complete accord with the Communist Party." These instances were identified under the headings "Aid to Loyalist Spain," "Civil Liberties," "Lynching" and "Opposition to the Dies Committee," among others. They were also in agreement about Harry Bridges, California radical Tom Mooney and Communist Party head Earl Browder.

The researchers found twenty cases where the magazines "have differed sharply" from the views of the party. The headings here included "Moscow Trials," "Soviet-Nazi Pact," "Aid to the Allies (before invasion)," "Communist Infiltration of Labor Unions" and "Mission to Moscow (the film ver-

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sion)." Two categories in which *The Nation* and the party diverged were listed only as "Soviet Union" and "Communism."

But the report did make one serious charge against *The Nation*:

> Both magazines have excelled in their disparaging remarks concerning the Director and the Bureau. It would seem particularly in the case of "The Nation" that hatred of the Bureau and the Director have been a phobia and a complex for some years. Time and the Bureau's achievements have not abated their zeal nor dulled their barbed threats. It is noticeable that even the Bureau's accomplishments in cases which excite the fancy of the entire country are avoided. . . . In the entire nine-year review of "The Nation" not a single instance was noted when a word of praise was given for the Bureau's work.
>
> "The New Republic" presents a different spectacle. . . . it has, on occasions, credited the Bureau's work. On the whole its antagonism does not seem to be as confirmed and inflexible as that of "The Nation."

Through the subsequent years the ambivalent paragraphs about *The Nation*'s staff and its attitudes on communism and/or the Communist Party became the boilerplate in Bureau answers to questions about the magazine's political hue. But there never was any equivocation in asserting the falsehood of all facts cited by writers for *The Nation* who spoke ill of the Bureau or its Director. Judging from the evidence in the internal files, however, the great F.B.I. research project seems to have satisfied the Bureau's curiosity about *The Nation* for the time being. At war's end the magazine all but disappeared from official notice.

The 1950s: The Fred Cook Firestorms

One might have expected a reawakening of Bureau indignation when, on February 16, 1952, Carey McWilliams contributed an article to *The Nation* in the grand tradition. Under the headline "The White House Under Surveillance," McWilliams assailed the Bureau for leaking its files to Senator Joseph McCarthy and his Congressional allies, who charged that Communists had infiltrated the ranks of government employees.

"The witch hunt," McWilliams wrote, "has now been extended to the highest echelons of American business and government, and even to the White House. . . . Once the informer is officially sanctioned—as by the Attorney General of the United States urging college students to tell tales on their instructors, or by Edgar Hoover beseeching taxicab drivers to help him catch spies—he becomes all-powerful; literally no one is immune from his prying and tattling.

". . . Joe McCarthy, like Charlie, is a puppet; but who pulls the strings? Congress could easily find out if it investigated the FBI as it did in 1924. At least once every twenty-five years J. Edgar Hoover should be required to answer a few questions."

Although the article is reproduced in the file, there are no accompanying documents. Nor is there anything in the file remarking about *The Nation*'s observations on the hearings conducted by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the trials of Alger Hiss and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg or the early years of McCarthy's Permanent Senate Investigating Committee. The late 1940s and early 1950s are summed up in the F.B.I.'s history of *The Nation* by a blank.

It is possible that the files for those years are so gargantuan that they strained

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Yes, I want to help the workers at Local P-9.

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the Bureau's capacity to reply adequately to *The Nation*'s F.O.I.A. request, or so reprehensible that they are kept under lock and key. A more mundane but more likely explanation is that J. Edgar Hoover was too preoccupied in those high-riding times to bother with old-hat annoyances from small-circulation critics. He had bigger fish to fry.

The year 1955 produced a two-page memorandum from the Special Agent in Charge, Boston, to the Director in which everything has been blacked out except "Subject: The Nation." It is dated May 25. The Director's reply, on June 7, is also blacked out. At the bottom of the document a handwritten notation, added two months later, indicates that the New York office had been asked to send a copy of the magazine's July 30 issue, which contained "The Right to Travel," by Leonard Boudin. Boudin reviewed recent court decisions that limited the State Department Passport Office's right to deny travel documents to alleged subversives.

There was a brief flurry that summer when the government indicted R. Lawrence Siegel, *The Nation*'s *pro bono* counsel, and Martin Solow, the assistant to the publisher, for their alleged involvement with Harvey Matusow, an informer used by the F.B.I. and the House Un-American Activities Committee. In 1955, Matusow wrote a book, *False Witness*, confessing that some of his accusations were lies and admitting that he had perjured himself while testifying in the second Smith Act trial. The government chose to prosecute Matusow for perjury on a separate occasion; thus defendants he had lied about would not have grounds to reopen their Smith Act cases. Because Matusow had met with Siegel to tell his story and because Solow had passed the story on to an individual who had been convicted on the basis of Matusow's testimony, *The Nation*'s two associates found themselves charged with conspiracy to obstruct justice.

The Nation, in its lead editorial for July 23, 1955, lambasted Attorney General Herbert Brownell for prosecuting Siegel and Solow, and thereby linking the magazine with the Matusow case. The Department of Justice, the editorial claimed, was trying "to terrorize and silence any organ of opinion that has criticized the use of political informers or that has called for an investigation of their veracity as witnesses."

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An interoffice memorandum from M.A. Jones to Assistant Director Nichols, dated August 5, passed along a photostated copy of the editorial and commented: "A review of this article discloses it to be highly critical of Attorney General Brownell. . . . The editorial states . . . neither the department nor Mr. Brownell has ever forgiven 'The Nation' for the major expose of the informer system in the issue of April 10, 1954." Yet from the files released, the F.B.I. took no notice of that issue at the time.

The Nation's editor, Freda Kirchwey, was under closer F.B.I. scrutiny. In response to a request from an undisclosed source, logged on December 9, 1955, a four-page "Name check" on her turned up in the file, dated January 5, 1956.

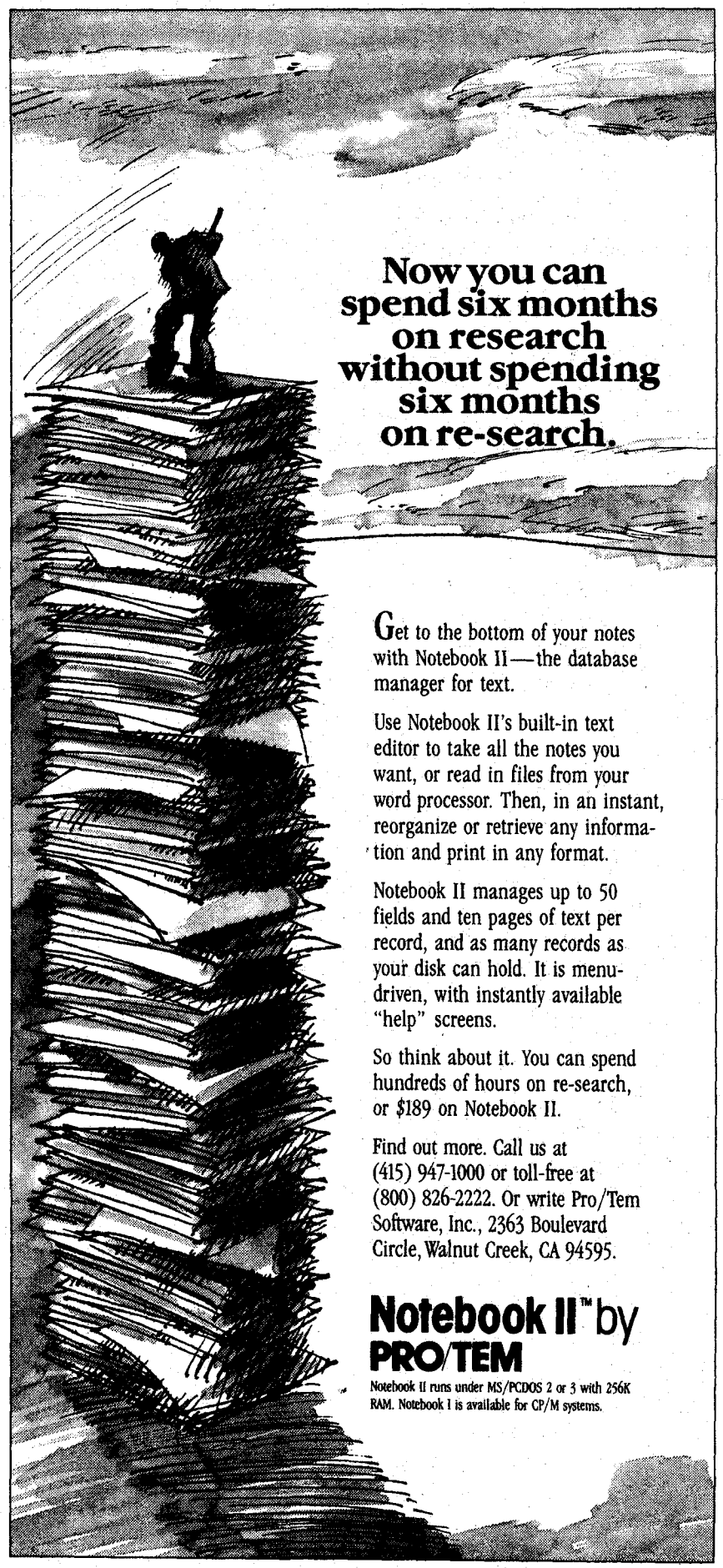
Under the heading "The Nation" the report declared, "No investigation has been conducted by the FBI concerning the captioned publication pertinent to your inquiry." The next paragraph is blacked out. Then comes: "The 'Daily Worker,' an east coast Communist newspaper, reported in early 1938 that the Committee for a Boycott Against Japanese Aggression was launched in early 1938. The name of Freda Kirchwey was listed as a sponsor of this organization. The Committee for a Boycott Against Japanese Aggression has been cited as a Communist front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities."

The next paragraph is blacked out. Then:

> The "New York Times" newspaper for September 5, 1941, stated that a group of liberals and trade union leaders issued an appeal to the 150,000 enrolled members of the American Labor Party in New York City to vote for the right-wing [anti-Communist] slate in the coming primary election. Listed among those joining in the appeal was the name of Freda Kirchwey. "For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party . . . " according to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its Report of March 29, 1944.

Score one for Freda.

On and on the information runs—tedious, compiled with no coherence, listing names of organizations to which Kirchwey belonged and citing "confidential informants" between blackened lines. The data—twenty-eight negative pieces of information, one positive, outside the blacked-out portions of the document—were furnished,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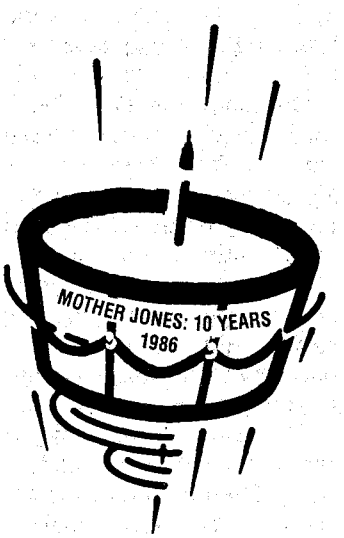
TO THE NATION FOR PAVING THE WAY

YOU'VE MADE IT EASIER FOR THE REST OF US!

MOTHER JONES



Mother Jones Magazine $12 a Year 1886 Haymarket Square Marion OH 43306

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the F.B.I. carefully pointed out, upon a "request for an FBI file check and is not to be construed as a clearance or non-clearance of the publication involved." The Bureau then added, "this information is furnished for your use and should not be disseminated outside of your agency."

Later in the decade things seemed to be getting back into the groove down F.B.I. way. A letter dated July 3, 1956, from Hoover to the Special Agent in Charge, New York, spelled out the instructions for renewing a "confidential subscription" to *The Nation*. Another letter from the Director to SAC, New York, in October 1957 encouraged the latter to "make discreet arrangements to renew the subscription to the above publication for one year. The price is $8 per year. This publication should be handled promptly to insure that we receive all issues. Continue to forward publication to Central Research Section by routine slip." A "Note" at the end said, "[Name blacked out] Internal Security Section, wishes to have subscription renewed." Enough to gladden a circulation manager's heart.

Only a week after the magazine sent the renewal notice it brought out a special issue, dated September 21, 1957, devoted to an analysis of the Hiss case, by Fred J. Cook. Cook compounded that indiscretion a year later by writing an unfavorable review of Hoover's book, *Masters of Deceit*. To top it off, just after the Director had once again authorized a "discreet" renewal, Cook wrote a fifty-eight-page article about the agency, filling the entire issue for October 18, 1958. The firestorm ignited by Cook among the memorandum writers inside F.B.I. headquarters is reported in these pages by the arsonist himself.

On September 17, 1959, *The Nation* took out a full-page advertisement in *The New York Times* welcoming Nikita Khrushchev to the United States and applauding President Eisenhower for having extended the invitation. "The visit of a foreign statesman does not imply endorsement of his ideas or his policies," read the ad, quoting *The Nation*'s pages. "All it implies is that it is in the national interest to talk with him."

The ad was clipped and filed by the Intelligence Division chief, W.C. Sullivan. "This action on the part of the publishers of *The Nation* makes it easier to understand why they so wholeheartedly attacked the Bureau through Cook's article last fall," wrote Sullivan.

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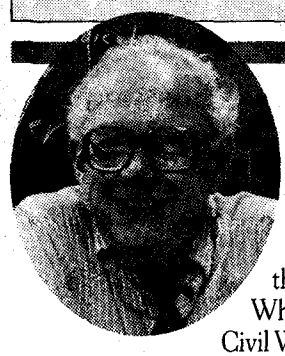

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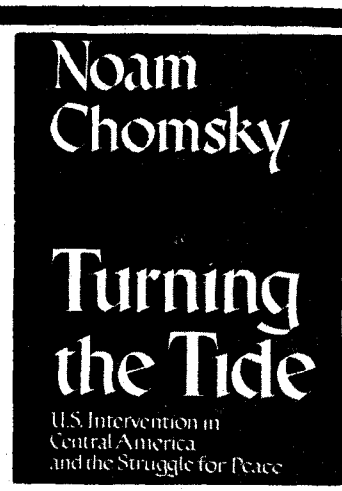

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The 1960s: Sneers and Smirks, Rantings and Ravings

The Nation's strong voice on the key issues of the decade—civil rights, the Vietnam War, campus revolt—might have been expected to excite Hoover and his protectors of law and order. But the files released to the magazine suggest that during that time the Bureau was mainly interested in venting its spleen over past slights. The Bureau's internal memorandums about the magazine decried *The Nation*'s supposed "sneers" and "smirks," and habitually referred to its "patently false and erroneous" contents or "ridiculous charges." Among other adjectives used to describe it were "infamous" and "putrid." Several writers whose articles were printed in its pages were described as "literary prostitutes." A Bureau official counseled, "We should not dignify their rantings and ravings with any sort of reply." The paranoia was focused chiefly on Fred Cook, and when he became an associate editor and began to write regularly for the magazine, the Bureau was beside itself.

The files reveal that at renewal time as many as six Bureau sections endorsed continuing the subscription, even though "'The Nation' frequently contains articles highly critical of Director and/or FBI." The subscription authorization explained:

> It is used frequently for reference purposes. Magazine contains viewpoint of communist supporters; it contains liberal analyses of Sino-Soviet dispute, Soviet anti-Semitism, and many other topics useful in interpreting communist developments with purpose of developing counterintelligence; it contains useful background material for special studies, articles, and lectures; and, it is also useful for obtaining current views expressed on other subjects or matters of interest to Bureau.

(*The Nation* rated only one subscription, however; *The Worker* collected F.B.I. funds for six and the *National Guardian* topped the list with ten.)

But nobody paid much attention until the Director's name was mentioned. An article in the October 1, 1960, issue, "New Doubt on the Hiss Case," by George T. Altman, a California lawyer, triggered a query from F.B.I. headquarters to its Los Angeles office. The substance of the reply is blacked out in the released documents.

According to an F.B.I. synopsis, "Article is critical of the FBI and the prosecution in the Alger Hiss case and highlights as inaccurate and doubtful the testimony of an FBI document examiner and a prosecution witness, George Roulhac. . . . Article is biased in attempt to vindicate Hiss and follows same pattern as Alger Hiss' book and article by Fred J. Cook which previously appeared in instant publication. Complete analysis and refutation of charges against FBI is attached."

That complete analysis and refutation consisted of six pages, dealing principally with documents typed on a Woodstock pica typewriter that Roulhac testified he had seen in the Georgetown house he had rented from Hiss. The F.B.I. review cited the Hiss book and the 1957 Cook article along with Altman's piece, and concluded: "Those publications and instant article contain gross exaggerations and contortion in an effort to sway the uninformed reader. It is highly inaccurate and evasive of the true facts." The report was initialed by Hoover, as was the teletype on Altman filed by the Los Angeles office. At the bottom of the latter was a handwritten comment: "Too bad he can't be disbarred."

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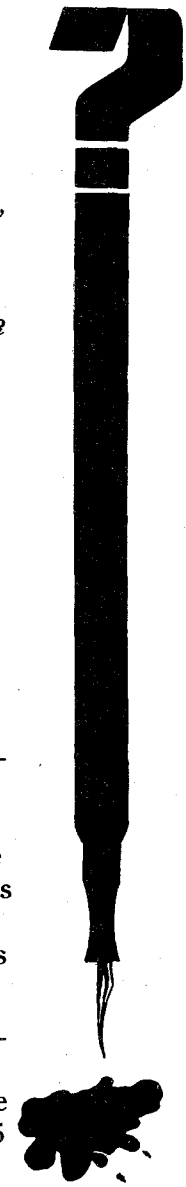

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An article by Martin Luther King Jr., published February 4, 1961, also received F.B.I. analysis:

> As would be expected King's article is a plea for faster integration. . . . At the top of page 94 the following statement regarding the Bureau and other law enforcement agencies is made:
>
> "If, for instance, the law-enforcement personnel in the FBI were integrated, many persons who now defy federal law might come under restraints from which they are presently free. . . ."
>
> This is the only reference to the Bureau found in the article.
>
> . . .
>
> Although King is in error in his comments relating to the FBI, it is believed inadvisable to call his hand on this matter as he obviously would only welcome any controversy or resulting publicity that might ensue.

The underlining was done by hand, with a line leading to Hoover's official squiggle and the crisp comment, "I concur."

King wrote annual assessments of civil rights developments for *The Nation* in the early 1960s, which the Bureau seems to have ignored. But it did respond to his March 9, 1964, article, "The Hammer of Civil Rights," which pleaded for a trained force of Federal marshals and a White House conference to deal with racial bombings in the South.

The F.B.I. memorandum noting that article added, "'The Nation,' of course, is the infamous magazine which has a long record of being anti-Bureau and frequently in favor of communists and communist causes." The F.B.I. analyst concluded:

> OBSERVATIONS:
>
> Considering the fact that the Bureau has prime responsibility in the field of Federal law enforcement relating to civil rights laws and that it is well known that the Bureau has been conducting investigations relative to racist bombings, it is most interesting to note that King did not mention the Bureau. It, of course, cannot be positively determined what he has in mind but this could be a backhanded way of taking a slap at the Bureau. Should any reader know of the type of trash put out by "The Nation" he would, of course, attach appropriate significance to King's article.

Tucked away in another part of the files released to *The Nation* is a document classified "Secret" and dated March 11, 1963, some weeks before the publication of King's annual civil rights audit. It is impossible to know how it involves the magazine because everything is blacked out except the heading "MARTIN LUTHER KING: RACIAL MATTERS." An "Action" note instructs "that attached memoranda be furnished to Mr. P. Kenneth O'Donnell, Special Assistant to the President, and the Attorney General."

Like the civil rights movement, the national division over the Vietnam War occupied the F.B.I. on many fronts. *The Nation*'s editorial opposition, however, does not appear to have received special notice. The files on this topic are, if one can use the word in this context, disappointing.

In its April 29, 1961, issue *The Nation* ran an article by Wade Thompson, a professor at Brown University, lamenting that only a handful of demonstrators had turned out for an Easter peace march in Providence, Rhode Island. Thompson wrote that people were afraid to take part in such a march because "somebody, somewhere is going to put them on a list which the FBI will hand over to HUAC, and from then on

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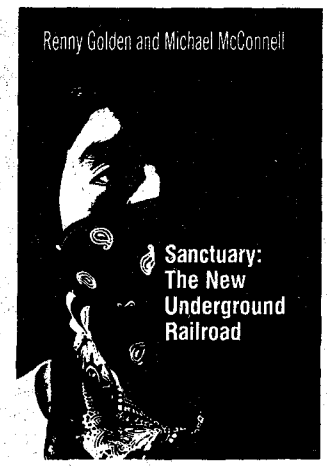

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perdition is certain." Thompson suggested that the F.B.I. might have been furtively taking photographs of those marchers who did show up, although the Bureau's energies might have been better directed toward the city's well-known crime syndicate. The magic word for attracting attention in Washington, of course, was "F.B.I."

An agent at headquarters discovered that the previous October, Thompson had written to the Director (and sent a copy to *The Nation*) suggesting that student editors nationwide pick a jury of students to review all available evidence in the Hiss case. "This particular letter was not answered," a search of the files verified, "in view of its baiting nature." It was also noted that "the Director has stated that Thompson 'suffers from mental halitosis.'"

A special issue dated June 24, 1961, featured Fred Cook's long takeout on the Central Intelligence Agency. As summarized inside the Bureau on June 22: "The theme of Cook's article is [that] under Allen Dulles, CIA, operating beneath a cloak of ultra-secrecy, has transcended its basic function as an intelligence-gathering agency and has engaged in 'action' or operational activities with respect to the affairs of foreign governments." The Cook-bashers had another field day. This from one memorandum:

> As the literary prostitute who wrote the vicious, unfounded lie about the Bureau which appeared in "The Nation" in 1958, Fred J. Cook needs no introduction.

And from another:

> In addition to a strong attack against CIA, his article is directed against U.S. foreign policy and in general follows the Communist Party and Soviet line.

The following year the Director received a query from the U.S. Legation in Bonn: "The 66th Intelligence Corps Group has inquired if the U.S. publication, 'The Nation,' is possibly subversive, and whether it is suitable for use in U.S. Army Unit Day Rooms and Special Service Libraries." Hoover's reply repeated the Bureau's traditional claim that it never evaluates anything, merely passes along the facts at its disposal.

"No investigation of 'The Nation' magazine has been conducted by this Bureau," Hoover began. "However the 1949 report of the California State Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, on pages 621 and 622 states that 'The Nation' has a long record as a liberal publication. It could not be so described as communist, but it is so infiltrated with the Communist Party policy that it serves the interests of the communists and confuses liberals on many issues."

"Carey McWilliams," he added, "has had a long history of activity with various communist front organizations." Thus McWilliams, who was *The Nation*'s editor from 1955 to 1976, joined his predecessors Oswald Garrison Villard and Freda Kirchwey in the F.B.I. gallery of subversives.

The last few paragraphs of the twenty-four-year-old memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to the U.S. Army station abroad are blacked out, still too sensitive for public scrutiny. But the final sentence, the clincher, remains: "In addition, 'The Nation' has in the past published numerous articles which have attacked the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Director."

The assassination of President John Kennedy provided yet another occasion for confrontation between the venerable adversaries. *The Nation* for January 27, 1964, published "Oswald and the FBI," by Harold Feldman, suggesting that Lee Harvey Oswald may have been a Bureau source and reporting that he had been interviewed by the F.B.I. shortly before the President was struck down. Feldman said the F.B.I. had concealed the report of an assistant in the Dallas District Attorney's office that stated that Oswald's address book contained the telephone and automobile license numbers of one Special Agent Hosty of the Bureau's Dallas office. The article summarized newspaper reports alleging that the F.B.I. tried to recruit Oswald as an undercover informant in pro-Castro groups two months before Kennedy's death.

The F.B.I.'s Domestic Intelligence Division immediately forwarded a copy to the top brass. "This is a vicious article," declared a handwritten comment on the transmittal letter. "In view of wire from Dallas SAC today re inquiry of Wade [Dallas District Attorney] by Warren Commission, I think attached is key to it, for The Nation is Warren's bible."

F.B.I. analysts quickly prepared an eleven-page report comparing all the allegations in Feldman's story with what it called the facts. "'The Nation's' current article, 'Oswald and the FBI,' is another bitter attack upon the Bureau," it stated. "Using utter falsehoods, rumors, gossip and newspaper reports taken out of context, the author

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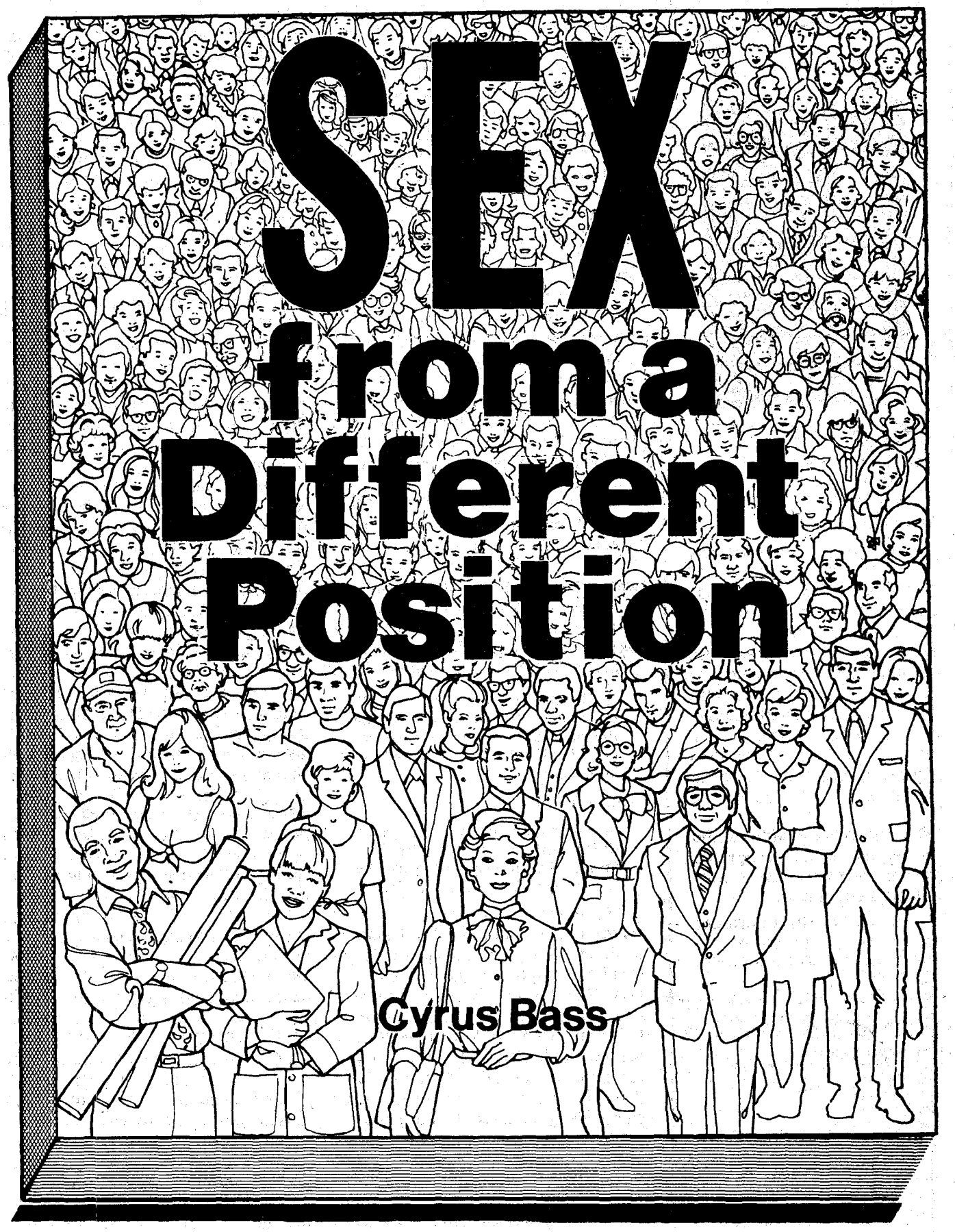

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Politics From A Different Position

THE "EVIL EMPIRE" Part II

Most Americans believe that the Soviet Union is our number one enemy. Those in the Administration are especially committed to this view. The strategy of the military is structured specifically to this point of view. Why? Superficially the answer is simple. Next to us the Soviet Union is the largest military power on earth. The Soviets can destroy this world as quickly as we can. It is incumbent upon those whose duty it is, the military, to protect us against any potential opponent, especially one of such military power. Thus, from the point of view of the military, their behavior is logical, sensible, realistic. Members of the military have no choice other than to do what they are doing. There is therefore no reason to criticize the military for their strategic pursuits. Better err in the direction of overprotection than in underprotection.

The famous theorist on war, Karl von Clausewitz, in his work titled *On War* postulates a dictum that military action should never be treated as an end in itself but as a means to an end. Military action should always serve as a tool of political action. The latter determines the former, not the other way around. Our failure in Vietnam, an experience of such disastrous consequences, punctuates most emphatically the truth of von Clausewitz's dictum. Many of us tend to blame the military for the tragedy of Vietnam. It was not the military's fault that our politics was bankrupt. Our political goal was to uphold the power of a corrupt Vietnamese political machine, an impossible task, and then gave the military the job to achieve it. Once given the job, not the military but the politicians were mapping the war strategy, proving that politicians are no military strategists. The failure of Vietnam is a measure of the failure of our politics. It was not the military but our politics which caused the Vietnam tragedy.

The next failure would be our last failure because it could lead to the end of the world.

It took only two weeks to dig the graveyard for civilization. But the actual burial may take less than an hour. It began July 17 and ended August 2 in the year 1945. The place was Potsdam, only a few miles from Berlin. A sincere, conscientious, sophomoric, political neophyte, only three months in office, was pitted against a cruel, ruthless, murderous, political giant. One harbored what he thought was a secret weapon, "the greatest thing in history." The other had all of Eastern Europe. The game play was cat and mouse. The stakes were the world. History has never recorded a more tragicomic scene.

Mankind stood at the crossroads. It was the most fatal time in history. It was day one after Trinity and Harry Truman was the President of the United States. His counterpart was Joseph Stalin, the supreme and absolute dictator of the Soviet Union for twenty years, and according to some historians wielded more political power than any other leader in history. Harry Truman had visions of outsmarting Joseph Stalin. How? He had the secret weapon. Why attempt to outsmart him? Were not the United States and Soviet Union allies? Were they not fighting the same enemy? Without the United States and the Soviet Union all of Western Europe would have become Germany, thereby fulfilling the modest German slogan, *Deutschland uber alles.* And wouldn't that have been a wonderful choice for Europe and mankind, the Nazi hordes, masters of the world. Why then the cat and mouse ploy? Didn't the Germans ravage Europe and massacre its people with a kind of pathogenic abandon that would make the Huns under Attila appear humanitarian? Why then this cagey behavior?

Joseph Stalin, no matter who he was and what he did, and we know who he was and what he did, was nevertheless the spokesman for the Soviet Union, the land that was ravaged and the people who stood their ground and fought the military *macht* of the German juggernaut at the cost of twenty million lives, *twenty million lives!* Well, Harry Truman did not *trust* Joseph Stalin. Trust with what? Harry Truman believed that the atom bomb was, as he said, "the greatest thing in history" and he did not want to share that *thing* with Joe Stalin.

Harry Truman believed, as did so many Americans, that the American scientists had a monopoly on the knowledge of nuclear physics; that the Russian scientists knew nothing about nuclear fission and nuclear fusion; that there are such things as secrets in science; and that the Russians would not be able to duplicate what our scientists produced. Moreover, he believed, as so many Americans still believe, that the Russians have to steal our secrets before they are able to produce those devastating instruments of destruction. Apparently the Russians were able to steal our scientific secrets even before we ourselves knew we possessed them or that they even existed because the Russians were the first to put Sputnik into space.

Thus the groundwork of distrust was the foundation laid at Potsdam. Why? Fundamentally because we Americans don't like Communists and the Soviet Union is Communist.

When people don't trust each other, nothing constructive can come out of any negotiation. Each side suspects the other of ulterior motives. Even when harmony appears to exist, those involved are not deceived. They know that it is only camouflage. And because the Communists operate on their belief in Communist scriptures, that the aim of the "Capitalists" is to destroy them, they learn to become masters at the art of secrecy.

So Potsdam ended in a fiasco. But all was not yet lost.

George C. Marshall, one of those rare personalities who on occasion appears on the human scene, the only professional soldier ever to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, an achievement which by itself speaks most eloquently of the kind of person he was, became Secretary of State in January 1947, a year and a half after Potsdam. But I am sure that uppermost in his mind at that time was not Woodrow Wilson's point 6 of his Fourteen Points. Point 6 went as follows:

> "The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy."

The acid test reoccurred at Potsdam. But now Russia was the victor, although prostrate.

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CYRUS BASS

Six months after Marshall became Secretary of State, June 5, 1947, in an address at Harvard University, he came forth with the idea of what he called a European self-help program to be financed by us. The program became known as the Marshall Plan. Who was to get the help, those who were the major victims of the German hordes, East Europe? No! It was to be Germany and the West. Why? Because we were afraid that if we were not to do this the West would become ripe for Communist subversion. The Soviet Union was to get nothing of the twelve billion, and those twelve billions were only the beginning of the flow of money we poured into Western Europe, with Germany being the main beneficiary, building up her economy so that now she can be our industrial competitor. What have the Germans learned from our largess? As far back as 1964, in the German weekly, *The Stern* (No. 41), Sebastian Haffner, the German writer and journalist, had this to say about his countrymen:

> "The Germans have always missed the opportunity to enquire into their own faults and have again and over again committed the same mistakes. Instead of asking themselves why they have brewed themselves a war and why they have eventually lost it, they continue to convince each other that they are not guilty for the war and that actually they have won it."

Today the resurgence of this psychology is moving into high gear.

So the acid test failed the second time.

What would have happened had we done the opposite? What would have happened had we joined with the Soviets as partners in rebuilding Eastern Europe, bringing in our technology, our skilled manpower, our industrial know-how, leaving the West and Germany to fend for themselves with only a little help from us? What would have happened? Would *we* have gone Communist? I would say that in less than four years, the time it took us to spend the twelve billion on Germany and the West, the Communist religion would have collapsed from the weight of its inner contradictions and a democratic society would have emerged. The Russians had the groundwork for such a society on paper. What was missing was the means with which to put it into action. Our partnership would have provided the means.

What else would have happened? The partnership would have caused our industries, farms, business, professions to hum with such activity that unemployment would have become a thing of the past and prosperity would have surrounded our land. It would have taken at least a generation to bring the Soviet Union into the twentieth century civilization and the salutary impact of that would have brought progress and sanity to the rest of the world. Moreover, the little dictators of the primitive countries would no longer have had the two superpowers as sources for extortion because they no longer could play one against the other. Why did we not do it? The answer: We do not like Communists because their religion preaches heaven now. We prefer our religions. They preach heaven when we are dead.

Sex From A Different Position

CYRUS BASS

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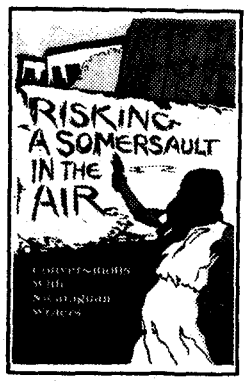

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leaves the impression that Oswald was an informant of the FBI. This is the line being taken by the Communist Party (CP) and other groups who are bitter in their opposition to the Bureau."

Nevertheless the analysis conceded: "The fact that Agent Hosty's name appears in Oswald's address book has not yet been set out in our Dallas reports. . . . Agent Hosty's name and other items in Oswald's address book not pertinent to our investigation have not yet been reported. [This sentence is circled, with the handwritten notation "I think this may be a mistake!"] However, in view of 'The Nation' article and the interest the Commission is showing in such article, the Dallas office is immediately including in its next report all data in Oswald's address book not already reported, including the item concerning Agent Hosty."

This is a rare entry: in the thirteen volumes of F.B.I. files released to *The Nation*, it is practically the only concession that anything in the magazine's pages may have been accurate. But the F.B.I. analyst dutifully added that Agent Hosty had never interviewed Oswald and that the alleged assassin had never been an F.B.I. informant.

On two other occasions in the 1960s *The Nation* touched a nerve, both times by running articles by disenchanted former agents: "Hoover and the Red Scare," October 20, 1962, by Jack Levine; and "Crime Is Too Big for the FBI," November 8, 1965, by William W. Turner. The Bureau's fulminations against the turncoats were predictable. Of the former it said:

> False. . . . another Levine lie. . . . a crude effort by Levine to cast a shadow of responsibility upon the Director for "the damage already inflicted . . . on countless individuals . . . by the irresponsible devotees of 'McCarthyism.'"

And of the latter:

> The same kind of vicious, distorted and defamatory trash which we have come to expect from Turner and "The Nation." . . .
>
> It is interesting to note that "The Nation" describes Turner as a former Agent who was in the FBI from 1951 to 1961 but does not cite the fact that he was dismissed from the service because he lacked the truthfulness, accuracy and responsibility required of a Special Agent and because he had shown a poor attitude toward the FBI and the Director.

. . .

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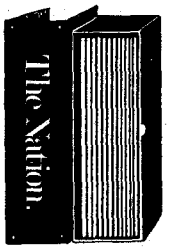

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Turner has proved that he has turned himself into a literary prostitute. It is most fitting then that he should feel at home in "The Nation" whose stable includes such other anti-FBI prostitutes as Fred Cook and Jack Levine.

1965 marked *The Nation*'s one-hundredth anniversary and J. Edgar Hoover's seventieth birthday, normally the mandatory retirement age for those in government service. The previous year, in which the Director celebrated his fortieth anniversary in his post, the magazine urged President Johnson to send Hoover into retirement rather than waive the rule. Only one article in the magazine's anniversary issue was considered worth noting by the Bureau, "What's Left of the Left?" by Harvey Swados, who had interviewed leaders of the Communist Party, the Socialist Worker's Party and the Progressive Labor Movement.

When *The Boston Globe* reported on December 27, 1965, that James J. Storrow Jr. was to become the publisher of *The Nation* on the first of the new year, the Special Agent in Charge of the Boston office sent the clip to the Director with this note:

> Boston conducted discreet inquiries to obtain limited background information. . . . According to [name blacked out] STORROW is the grandson of JAMES J. STORROW, Harvard University 1888, for which Storrow Drive, a famous drive in Boston was named. . . . As far as the source is concerned, STORROW is an exceptionally loyal individual with no subversive connections and he states that STORROW is associated with the Democratic town group of Brookline, Mass. As indicated, he is Director of the Boston Catholic Guild for the Blind. . . . Boston will follow closely for any additional information which might indicate STORROW would be friendly to the Bureau and be adverse to any slanted unjustifiable attacks against the Bureau.

Washington acknowledged the information with an internal memorandum noting also that Storrow was a former classmate of the late President Kennedy: "Bufiles contain no information. . . . Storrow has no known subversive connections. If he is, in fact, a solid, civic-minded individual, he has indeed fallen into a den of thieves in becoming publisher of 'The Nation.' . . . It will be interesting to note what difference, if any, the replacement of George Kirstein by Storrow has upon this journalistic cesspool."

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Lyndon Johnson kept Hoover at his post, and Richard Nixon reaffirmed the appointment. The Director was there during the national upheaval over the Vietnam War, the summer outbreaks in Watts, Detroit, Cleveland and Newark, the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Senator Robert Kennedy, the sit-ins and protests at Columbia and Berkeley, the riotous 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. The F.B.I.'s files reflect none of the magazine's coverage of those events. Was Hoover too busy to pick fights with *The Nation*? Too tired?

The Freedom of Information Act was adopted by Congress in 1966. At last there was the possibility that outsiders would have the opportunity to see F.B.I. documents. There were numerous exceptions, and it was still possible to black out the names of confidential sources and the information they disseminated. The new act did not immediately make the governmental process much more open, but it certainly encouraged bureaucrats to be more prudent. The files on *The Nation* during the Johnson–Nixon years began to grow thin.

The 1970s: The Hoover Legacy

The slumbering giant stirred once more when, in *The Nation* for November 30, 1970, the old nemesis, Fred Cook, needled the Director and the Bureau for withdrawing fifteen F.B.I. agents from their classes at New York City's John Jay College of Criminal Justice. The reason, Cook explained, was that their professor had "offered the hypothesis that Mr. Hoover, now approaching the age of 76 and having held sway over the FBI since 1924, might have outlived his usefulness." Cook had begun his article saying, "There is in America today no public man more fiercely loyal to the cult of self-worship."

The names on the internal F.B.I. memorandum belonged to a new generation, but the message had a familiar ring: "Once again, Mr. Cook is true to his established form, as he viciously attacks the Bureau armed only with a rhetoric of a rabble rouser cleverly used to disguise half-truths, misperceptions, misinformation, inaccuracies, and isolated contextually removed and purposely distorted facts."

Perhaps reflecting the tone toward the media characteristic of Spiro Agnew and Richard Nixon, the Director's response to inquiries about *The Nation* no longer included the customary disclaimer that the F.B.I. had never investigated the magazine (accompanied, of course, with references to reports from the House Un-American Activities Committee). A college student working on a research paper on police brutality told Hoover that he had come upon "several startling articles" in *The Nation*. "The reason I am writing to you," explained the student, "is not to discover the truth behind these articles, but to ask for credentials as to the validity of the magazine that published the articles." The young innocent had certainly come to the right place.

> Your letter was received on December 13th and the interest prompting you to write me is very much appreciated.
>
> With regard to your remarks concerning the articles you read in "The Nation," the statements contained therein consist of old, time-worn, discredited data which the authors and others have utilized in an attempt to undermine public confidence in our work. I have not deemed this type of so-called journalism worthy of further comment.
>
> Sincerely yours,
> J. Edgar Hoover

On the copy of the letter in the files there is, "NOTE: Correspondent not identifiable Bufiles." Vigilant always.

Hoover's ire might have been sparked when *The Nation* published "The FBI Today: The Case for Effective Control," by H.H. Wilson, on February 8, 1971. Wilson proposed that "consideration should be given to limiting the director's term of office" and that "direct supervision of the Bureau's activities be restored to the attorney general," when a new Director was appointed after Hoover's inevitable death.

But there was no comment from the Director then or, as far as *The Nation*'s files reveal, ever again. J. Edgar Hoover died at the age of 77, on May 2, 1972.

The Nation's history as recorded in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation petered out as well. In "Hoover's Legacy," on June 1, 1974, Frank J. Donner made a full-scale review of documents, obtained by other journalists under the Freedom of Information Act, that exposed the F.B.I.'s Cointel project throughout the 1960s. This involved the "disruption programs" against the Socialist Workers Party, the Black Panthers and the New Left. The new, post-Watergate, Director, Clarence M. Kelley, former Police Chief of Kansas City, was advised by

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iis aides not to comment on Donner's rticle: "To attempt to refute author's nisstatements re cointelpro could only ead to additional unfounded allegaions and misstatements. Readership of The Nation' made up of those who adıere to beliefs which made up ideoogical theme of this article." Another memorandum counseled: "By offering ebuttal we would necessarily have to pen doors to re-rebuttal by Donner and his claque. Intelligence Division believes there is more to lose than to gain by an attempted rebuttal."

Internal memorandum, Director, F.B.I., to SAC, New York, August 12, 1976:

> Bureau desires that you not renew subscription to "The Nation."
> NOTE: Section Chief R.L. Shackelford, IS-2 Section, Intelligence Division, determined renewal of above publication not necessary.

The F.B.I. and 'The Nation' in Peace and War

The thirteen volumes of files on *The Nation* released by the Federal Bureau of Investigation are only one small example of government surveillance of the American press. The first entry in my own F.B.I. file turned out to be an advertisement announcing the names of the original staff members of the newspaper *PM*; the files on *PM* were begun before its first issue was published. The F.B.I. opened up a special COMINFIL file on *The New York Times* in the 1950s, with the help of confidential informants on the staff, and cultivated a cozy relationship with a top publishing executive of the newspaper.

The only surprise in sixty years of F.B.I. surveillance of *The Nation* is the clumsiness of the efforts of the country's first line of defense against dangerous subversion. The glimpses of life inside the Bureau make pathetic reading. Hoover and his palace guard could not contain their fury at a small-circulation magazine whose writers were disrespectful toward G-men. Less surprising, though more disturbing, is the almost casual anti-Semitism and racism that appear in the Bureau's everyday memorandums, illustrating the gulf between the supposed guardians of our security and the freedoms to be defended.

The history of *The Nation* as perceived through the filters at F.B.I. headquar-

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ters in Washington tells more about the value system of the bureaucracy than the actual content of the magazine. Hitler and Mussolini rose to power in Europe, the New Deal changed the country, the nuclear bomb fell on Hiroshima, the Supreme Court struck down segregation in public schools, and *The Nation* analyzed it all. But the only analysis that interested the F.B.I. concerned itself and its Director.

The claim that the Bureau simply transmits the data collected by its field agents without evaluation is exploded by the evidence in its own files. The gossip, hearsay and guilt by association was passed along to favored members of Congress, alumni in other executive agencies and select members of the press. The F.B.I. launched special field investigations of *Nation* contributors, pressured teachers who used the magazine in their classes and cooperated with government agencies seeking to discredit opponents of their policies—all in the name of Americanism.

It is ironic that the F.B.I. files of individuals connected with *The Nation*, such as Oswald Garrison Villard and Martin Luther King Jr., have been partially opened to the public after their death, while the names of their accusers are protected. The F.B.I. insists on blacking out the identity of sources who described *The Nation*'s support of Sacco and Vanzetti more than sixty years ago. This is F.O.I.A. policy under an Administration that presses for less disclosure, has increased by executive order the security classification of government documents and uses polygraph tests to intimidate government employees.

Of course, the security agencies of the U.S. government may just be embarrassed to let the public see the fruits of the millions of dollars taxpayers have spent on exercises such as the F.B.I.'s surveillance of *The Nation*. □

AFTERWORD

On Being an Enemy Of the F.B.I.

FRED J. COOK

J. Edgar Hoover and his Federal Bureau of Investigation thrashed about like a stranded whale after I wrote "The FBI," a critical analysis of the Bureau's deeds, in a special issue *The Nation* published on October 18, 1958. As numerous internal memorandums show, the Director and his sanctified Bureau felt they were being vilified as part of some devious left-wing (read Communist) plot.

But they couldn't establish the precise nature of the conspiracy, and they never could tell what the devil to make of me. Fellow newsmen were questioned; neighbors and commuting acquaintances were sometimes grilled. (In fact, I know more about this snooping than is revealed in the partially censored files.) When the sweeping investigation, which included a check with the Internal Revenue Service, finally whimpered to its conclusion, the F.B.I. decided to keep its discoveries hidden in its files.

I had previously come to the Bureau's attention because of two long articles in which I had questioned the F.B.I.'s conduct in connection with the perjury convictions of William Remington and Alger Hiss [see "The Remington Tragedy: A Study of Injustice," *The Nation*, December 28, 1957, and "Hiss: New Perspectives on the Strangest Case of Our Time," *The Nation*, September 21, 1957]. Following the Hiss article Hoover received a succinct report on me: "Bufiles contained no subversive references identifiable with Cook." But when the F.B.I. special issue hit the stands (one week earlier than the publication date indicates), the interoffice memorandums began to bloom. The Director's rage and frustration show in his heavily scrawled comment to an October 15, 1958, memorandum:

> 1. I can't understand with all our alleged contacts and informants we had no inkling of Cook's article in the Nation.
> 2. I think we should discreetly get a line on this man and his background and associations for current article just didn't "bloom"—it is planned literary garbage barrage against FBI by a dedicated Hiss apologist. H.

Fred J. Cook's latest book is Maverick: Fifty Years of Investigative Reporting *(G.P. Putnam's Sons).*

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Another internal memorandum dated October 15, from one G.A. Nease to Clyde Tolson, Hoover's alter ego, pelled out the conspiracy theme to which the Bureau remained dedicated lespite the lack of evidence. "There is no question but that Cook's attack against the Director and the Bureau s a deliberate, planned scheme," he asserted. Nease was convinced that someone had financed what he reasoned nust have been a very expensive project. He said he had a source who had a friend at the New York *World-Telegram and Sun*, for which I worked, and his friend of a friend was convinced that "some financial angel must be behind the attack."

Nease's candidate for the financial angel role was Cyrus Eaton—the multimillionaire industrialist from Cleveland whose antipathy to both the F.B.I. and the Central Intelligence Agency was hardly a secret—because I had quoted from a statement that Eaton had made in a televised interview. Later the Bureau wondered whether I had been paid off by the too liberal (in its view) Fund for the Republic, prompting Hoover to order a check by the I.R.S. on my sources of income. When both those theories proved false, the Bureau speculated that Martin Benjamin, an attorney who had committed the offense of being "caustic" about the F.B.I. while arguing Alger Hiss's appeal on the perjury conviction, might be "at least around the fringes of both of Cook's stories [the Hiss and F.B.I. articles]."

Throughout this initial period, Hoover refused to comment on my article to the Associated Press and other callers. He would not, he indicated, "dignify" my article with a reply. He sent Attorney General William Rogers a memorandum in which he wrote, "Cook has apparently made a good income in recent months by casting reflections on the government with regard to the William Remington and Alger Hiss perjury cases." Reading this, I was shocked by Hoover's standards. I had been paid $500 for the Remington article and another $500 for the Hiss exposé.

Meanwhile, Bureau agents were also dissecting my F.B.I. article in the hope of uncovering errors. Another October 15 memorandum to Tolson notified the top brass that "each of the Agent Supervisors in the Training and Inspection Division [had been ordered] to obtain an individual copy of this magazine article and to carefully review it for the pur-

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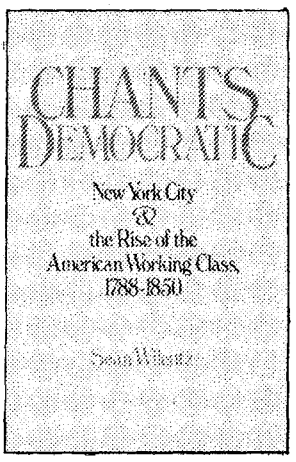

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pose of any original ideas as to how th extremely malicious piece of writin may be refuted." Apparently, the resul were not gratifying. The Special Agent i Charge of the New York office reported "Article appears factually correct excep article states '174 New York policemen whereas testimony states '175 New Yorl policemen.'"

Not much help was forthcoming fron other sectors of the Bureau either. In a memorandum to Assistant Directo A.H. Belmont dated October 17, 1958 agents of the Liaison Section advanced a number of proposals. Suggestion No. 1 and No. 2 are blacked out in the file the F.B.I. released to *The Nation*. Sug gestion No. 3, recommending that a "discreet inquiry or investigation should be conducted by the Bureau to ascer tain who or what organization is be hind the attack and the reason for it," was approved by Hoover, who wrote, "Yes, this should be given top priority particularly since *N.Y. Post* is also getting ready to do a similar job." (The *Post* was beginning its own in vestigation of Hoover and the Bureau.)

Suggestions No. 4, No. 5 and No. 6 have been blacked out. Suggestion No. 7, urging that an effort be made to get across to "intellectuals" the "true" story of the Bureau, was approved. So was Suggestion No. 8, which recommended that agents try to prove Cyrus Eaton had "bought" *The Nation*. Evidence of this sort "could completely destroy *The Nation* as an allegedly independent, im partial publication," the memorandum pointed out. Hoover loved it, writing: "We should try to find out who is behind it. Yes."

Years later I learned just how desper ate the F.B.I. had been to pin a Com munist label on me. My daughter-in law was working in a municipal office in northern New Jersey when a lawyer came in whom I had known at the time of the F.B.I. turmoil. A former neigh bor of mine, he had been an Assistant United States Attorney in Newark. He told my daughter-in-law that she had no idea of the trouble I had caused him. He had been summoned by F.B.I. agents, he said, and they had demanded that he tell them all he knew about me. Since he didn't know anything derogatory, his answers didn't satisfy them. They became angry, he said, pounded their fists on the table and accused him of covering up for me. "We *know* he's a Communist," they said. "We *know* that! What are you protecting him

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or?" Fortunately, my former neighbor weated out the interrogation.

In view of all this, I was intrigued to ead that the F.B.I. knew perfectly well hat I was not a Communist, or even a adical. The files show that the F.B.I. ıad probed every facet of my career; ;ome of its information was wrong, and arge parts of it were blacked out. Their :onclusion, however, in a memorandum from Tolson to Nease on October 27, 1958, survived:

> There is no indication that Cook personally has any political leaning himself [here more words are blacked out]. He is obviously a tool for those left-wing renegades connected with *The Nation*, who desire to smear both the F.B.I. and Mr. Hoover personally. We will continue to have discreet [how I love that word] and expeditious checks conducted.

The F.B.I.'s scrutiny extended to people who had been so bold as to write to the magazine praising my article. An Airtel to headquarters dated January 21, 1959, recounts:

> [Name blacked out] was contacted for an interview in the vicinity of his home [more blacked out] . . .was uncooperative. He was approached as he was alighting from his automobile and was carrying several copies of the above-captioned magazine. [Name blacked out] told the interviewing agent that he liked it very much and had obtained these additional copies to give to his friends. [Blacked out] was asked if he had made any effort to determine the accuracy and authenticity of the article. [Again blacked out] refused to discuss the matter further.

The portions of the files that have been released reveal other interesting patterns. Week after week the Bureau's New York office sent the Seat of Government, Hoover's designation for F.B.I. headquarters, a synopsis of what *The Nation* was running. This, too, seems to have been a futile exercise, for report after report advised headquarters that no new transgressions had been committed.

In the end, what did the F.B.I. accomplish? The flounderings of the mighty whale officially came to an end on April 15, 1959. A memorandum to Clyde Tolson prepared by the F.B.I. Executive Conference reported that the Central Research Section's analysis of my article was "voluminous"—so voluminous that the conference opposed slipping it to the public. After all, the Bureau had never "dignified" my article with a response, and besides, "If we were to give the voluminous analysis of it to sources outside the Bureau, it would possibly be an indication of how hard the Bureau felt it had been hit and, therefore, possibly subject to some misinterpretation." The conference suggested it would be better to deal with "friendly news sources" on "specific items" as they arose.

So ended the great conspiracy hunt. J. Edgar Hoover threw the formidable resources of his Bureau into the effort to pin a Communist-conspiracy rap on me and *The Nation*. He ended up with a report that had to be buried in the F.B.I.'s files. □

LETTERS.

(*Continued from Page 322*)

emerging character than any enduring observer. Its memory and its vision offer, in this moment of greatest incoherence, the high opportunity for the discovery of truth that can lead people to a life of principle. *Ramsey Clark*

∞

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For 120 years, from the days of Andrew Johnson to those of Ronald Reagan, *The Nation* has been a stalwart defender of civil rights and civil liberties for all Americans. As political issues have changed, as our nation changed, the dedication of *The Nation* to liberty has remained constant. *Floyd Abrams*

∞

Washington

The Nation has had a distinguished past, with a commitment to vigorous debate about the major issues of the day. I look forward to its continued dedication to the public interest. *Senator Bill Bradley*

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New York City

A toast to the grand lady of magazine journalism, who has weathered 120 years of reactionary storms with nary a hair out of place. *Joseph Papp*

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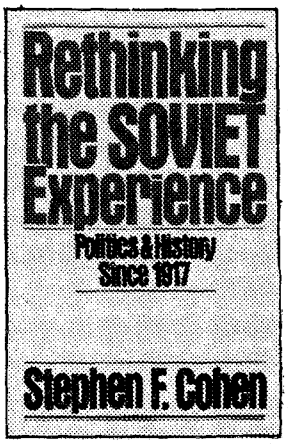

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Washington
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∞

Los Angeles
The Nation has in good times and ba persevered in holding up a mirror c America's best sense of itself.
Jerry Brow

∞

New York City
I assume you know that the number 12 has great significance for Jews. It was th alleged age of Moses at his demise, an the traditional Jewish blessing is "Ma you live to 120." When Levi Eshkol wa the Finance Minister of Israel, the greet ing was changed to "May you live t 108," and when people asked why 108 the response was, "Eshkol takes back 10 percent of everything."

It isn't the 120 years that count, though; it is what *The Nation* has done and is doing again and again.
Bernard D. Fischman

∞

Washington
The Nation has provided our country with a clear, progressive voice throughout its 120 years. Its reporting is thorough and reliable. I wish your fine publication 120 more years of eloquence and independent thought.
Senator Paul Simon

∞

New York City
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U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums
Jeff Faux
Morton Bahr
Emma Rothschild*
Frances Fox Piven
Robert Reich
William Winpisinger

* invited

Some leading Democrats think they've found the ticket to success: becoming Republicans.

They want to forget the values they used to stand for: opportunity, community, tolerance, justice. And they want to forget those Americans who have been most loyal to the party: women, working people, senior citizens, Blacks, Hispanics, farmers, consumers, and the young.

But while Democrats are acting like Republicans, people are crying out for real leadership and real alternatives. They see farmers driven off the land, cities crumbling, children going hungry — and they know that prosperity for some is progress for none. They see the Administration turning over our natural resources, our public utilities, and even our schools to the "private sector" — and they know they're being sold down the river. They see attacks on civil rights and the right of working people to organize — and they know it's time to respond.

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CONFERENCE: Begins 7 PM Friday, ay 2nd thru Sunday, May 4th. Washgton D.C. Convention Center, 900 inth St. NW. $35 in advance, $45 at the oor ($20/25 low income).

HOUSING: Hotel rooms are being held until April 2nd at the Governor's House, Rhode Island Ave. at 17th St. NW, 1-800-821-4367. $60 single, $65 double.

FOR MORE INFORMATION: New Directions, 15 Dutch St. #500, New York, NY 10038. (212) 962-0390.

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of *The Nation* is a highlight of my week. *Leonard Bernstein*

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Abbie Hoffman

Washington
The Nation has an old and noble tradition. As time and views have changed, history has proved *The Nation*'s value as a forum for exploring these changes and, sometimes, foretelling them.
Senator Claiborne Pell

New York City
For depth of analysis, truth telling and courageous journalism, *The Nation* is unbeatable. All this and good writing too. *Bella S. Abzug*

Washington
The Nation continues to be the most articulate, wise and progressive publication in the United States, probably in the world. Many of us here in Congress rely on you. Stay healthy despite your advanced age.
Representative Don Edwards

Roxbury, Conn.
Finding *The Nation* in my mailbox after a week of embattled trips to the city, the world and farther places of the mind is like finding a favorite professor on my country doorstep. I know we'll settle in for an evening of nourishment, stimulation and reassurance that somebody out there is still on our side—one step ahead of us, usually! Here's to the next 120 years together. *Rose Styron*

Washington
The Nation has been the most consistent advocate, in terms of its week-by-week commitment, of rational values and decency in my adult life.
Seymour Hersh

Washington
One problem I have with publishing in this nation is that *The Nation* is unique. If *Forbes* is the capitalist's tool, then

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AMERICAN LAW FIRMS FOR AFRICAN RELIEF

An Open Letter To Lawyers:

I am writing to ask your firm to join with hundreds of other firms across the country in an effort to give life—literally, l itself—to tens of thousands of people on the other side of the world.

When the music industry banded together last summer to raise money for hungry people in Africa, I was inspired by its effort and also challenged. Why couldn't lawyers, especially lawyers at the nation's most successful firms, join in a similar, or even mo substantive effort? Moreover, why couldn't our magazine give its share and, in fact, become a catalyst for such an effort?

So this summer, with the *pro bono* help of lawyers at Washington's Hogan & Hartson, I organized AMERICAN LAW FIRM FOR AFRICAN RELIEF (ALFAR), a non-profit corporation that will raise money from American law firms for specific projec aimed at alleviating the effects of famine in Africa. Since then, we have developed two projects to be run by CARE, the highl regarded international relief and development organization. These projects will be directed at long term relief. They will provi funds for a water wells project in Mali and for a long term agroforestry project that will halt erosion and increase agricultur productivity for 50,000 rural inhabitants of Sudan.

Moreover, we have secured a commitment from the U.S. Agency For International Development (AID), that the United Stat government will match whatever we raise from law firms such as yours *dollar for dollar* up to $700,000.

In a nutshell, here is how we are going to try to raise the money: This spring *The American Lawyer* will publish—completely a AmLaw's expense—a special supplement featuring the *pro bono* efforts of our country's law firms. Our writers and editors wi donate their time, and our company will donate all printing and mailing costs. In addition to the profiles of the *pro bono* program this issue will also include a prominent, page-by-page listing of all firms that contribute to ALFAR an amount equal to $20 for eac lawyer in the firm. To be listed, a 30-lawyer firm would contribute $600, a 100-lawyer firm $2,000, etc.

Let me describe that program to you in detail. First, all the money you give will go directly for the projects; *The America Lawyer* is taking out nothing of the proceeds for overhead, the cost of sending you this letter, our printing costs, etc. Nor is Hoga & Hartson taking anything out of the contributed funds, even disbursements associated with its effort.

Second, to assure that the money is spent properly and productively, the following distinguished leaders of the law firm community have agreed to serve as members of the board of directors of the non-profit corporation:

- **J. Evans Attwell, managing partner of Vinson & Elkins;**
- **Samuel Butler, presiding partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore;**
- **Lloyd Cutler, senior partner of Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering;**
- **Joseph Flom, chairman of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom; and**
- **William French Smith (former attorney general), senior partner at Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher.**

Third, remember that every dollar you give will be matched by a dollar from AID up to $700,000. To me, this extraordinary federal support for a private African relief project is nothing short of thrilling—and I think it makes our appeal to you and your firm irresistible. It's the most constructive "leveraging" I've heard about in a long time.

We have *specific* plans for where the money is going to go and how it's going to provide life and hope on the other side of our world *quickly*, to thousands of children. These children may never have the happiness and opportunity that my children and yours do, but we can at least try to take the vacant, glassy stare out of their eyes and ease their pain. Isn't doing that with this *specific* relief program worth the cost of ten minutes of billable time? Or one lunch with your colleagues?

I hope you will share this letter and its description of these life-giving projects with your partners. And I hope that you and your firm will hear this special appeal and join your colleagues across the country as donors listed in our special supplement.

Giving life and hope to those less fortunate is not something that should be left to rock stars. Please send your firm's check for at least $20.00 per lawyer.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Steven Brill
Editor & President, *The American Lawyer*

FOR MORE INFORMATION WRITE TO STEVEN BRILL, THE AMERICAN LAWYER, 205 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, NY 10016 OR CALL 212-736-7461.

Please urge your law firm to join the legal community in supporting African Relief. Feeding the hungry isn't a cause just for rock stars.

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hough we could run only a selection
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Nation Correspondent discussing

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REPORT ON TECHNICAL AID TO NICARAGUA

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TUESDAY, MARCH 25, 7:30 PM

The New School Graduate Center, Room 102E
65 Fifth Avenue at 14th Street
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For more information call (212) 427-0634.

THE HOPE FOR PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

3 programs of New York Area Central America Week

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New Yorkers Speak Out on Central America

Blue-ribbon panel hears testimony from witnesses living and working in Central America: Edgar Chamarro, former Contra leader; Reed Brody, former Assistant Attorney General, New York State; and others.

Cuny Graduate Center
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FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 4 TO 6:30 PM

Demonstration Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and Southern Africa

"No Aid to the Contras/No aid to UNITA." Speakers.

Federal Building
Broadway, between Worth and Duane

MONDAY, MARCH 24, 7:30 PM

Ecumenical Memorial Service

For Archbishop Oscar Romero and all Central Americans killed in the war. Speakers and music.

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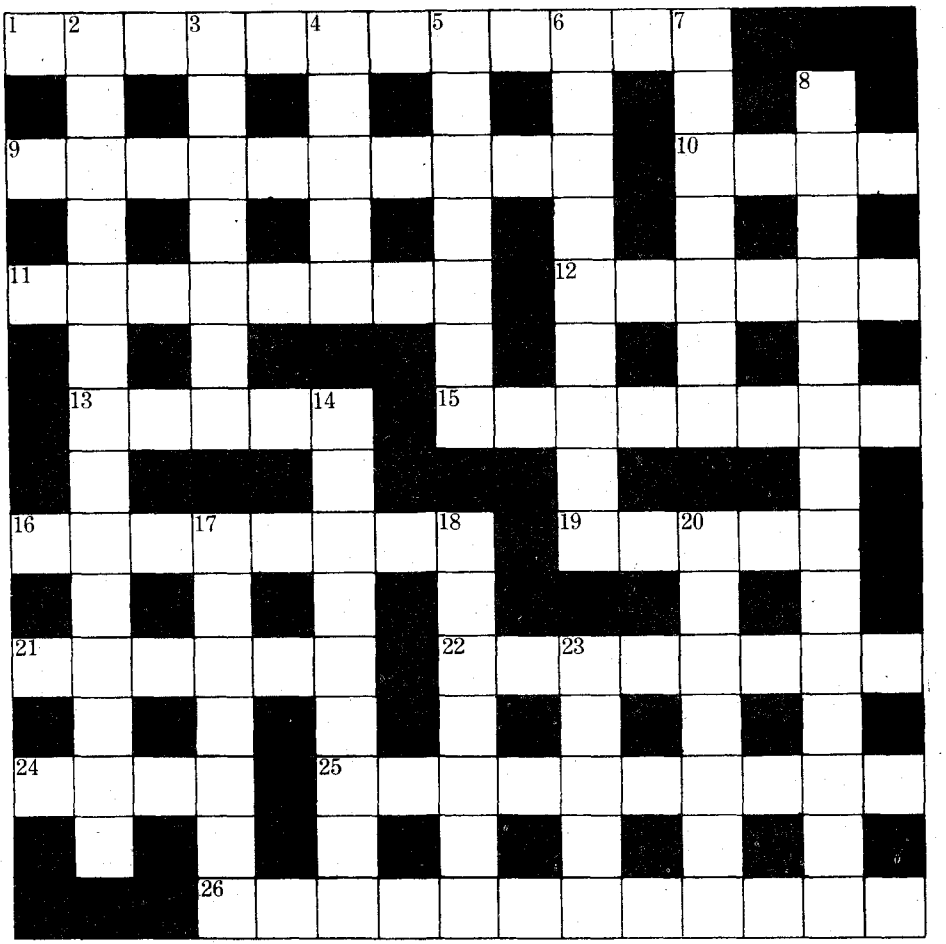

ACROSS

1 You probably only give it to one you trust, but it at least makes the crab clean. (5,7)
9 You might look for a date with any one here, but don't be surprised if it's canceled. (5,5)
10 It might be responsible for a black eye in some places. (4)
11 A comfortable place for your dogs, perhaps, to set for a better arrangement. (4,4)
12 If you look for cherubim in Italy you'll find it inside a little island. (6)
13 You might get a little help from them, even though the idea's wrong. (5)
15 Exalts, as a sort of something they added on, whether you like it or not. (5,3)
16 A little thing going in front of Nicholas, perhaps, to cheer for—especially if you like caviar. (8)
19 and 22 Rough weather ahead, they say! (5,8)
21 Help! Inside, the class is terrible (6)
22 See 19
24 It's heaven, east (or west) of Scotland ! (4)
25 In the order of merit, Charlie, my darling, was one of them! (10)
26 A number of main bodies shown when one breathes, even seasonally adjusted! (3,5,4)

DOWN

2 Sounds as though Arthur was very egotistical, if this was his motto! (3,3,4,4)
3 Eve was, but met up with Barnum and Sullivan, in quite a familiar way! (7)
4 Was his Tiger pretty hot? (It's one way to cook about fifty!) (5)
5 A trailer kept in the garden, perhaps. (7)
6 They were real comers, in popular song. (They might ring for breakfast, but it would be in the cook tent!) (9)
7 People in this race ski, mostly—but might go on snowshoes, too! (7)
8 You might make his a top anagram—an anagram, anyway, with a shifting series of illusions. (14)
14 Quite a show, with just one glass being responsible! (9)
17 The purpose in what one pays for housing, perhaps, is to get some clothes. (7)
18 Presently at this place, it really isn't any place! (7)
20 "Roots," perhaps. (7)
23 Englishman who wrote stories involving a deer. (5)

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